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THE NAUMANN CIRCLE -

THE STORY OF AN ATTEMPT TO REORGANIZE THE NAZI MOVEMENT

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THE STUDY OF A TECHNIQUE IN POLITICAL SUBVERSIONFOREWORD

1. The arrest on 14/15 Jan 53, on the orders of the UK High Commissioner, of Dr. Werner NAUMANN, former senior State-Secretary in the Reich Propaganda Ministry, and six of his closest associates represented an attempt to destroy by executive action and public exposure the development of a carefully-planned technique in political subversion. It was carried out at a stage in the evolution of post-war Anglo-German relations when little further time could be expected to be available for such action by the British, and in the belief that the German authorities lacked both the necessary insight into the problem and the objective clarity of political perception to act on their own initiative.

2. Both the Federal German Security Organisation and the Intelligence Services of the Allied Occupation Powers are fully aware that a resurgence of National Socialism and ultra-nationalism constitutes a potential danger to the democratic order in Western Germany. Notwithstanding this harmony in principle, however, the practical approach of the different services to the problem has varied considerably. The Federal Authorities have shown themselves to be well able to observe the activities of the openly neo-Nazi splinter-parties of the extreme right wing and have exhibited a readiness to take action against them. They have never, however, in our view, revealed the capacity to carry out an effective surveillance and dispassionate study of those Nazi and extreme nationalist forces who are attempting to gain their ends by covert political activity.

3. It has for the past three years been the belief of British Intelligence in Germany that it is these covert forces which constitute the greater long-term threat to the democratic order. The action in January, therefore, represented the culmination of a long concentration of surveillance and research effort on the target to which we have given the title "Crypto-Nazi". The interrogations of the seven detainees and, more especially, the study of the huge quantity of impounded documents have provided valuable material to confirm and add to the already extensive information on the target previously gained from intelligence sources, with the result that our research picture of the evolution of crypto-Nazism as an important factor in the post-war German political scene can now be said to be a fairly complete one. The at least temporary removal of the main figure NAUMANN and the unexpected disorganisation of his plans caused by the action afford a suitable opportunity for stock-taking. The present paper should, therefore, be regarded as a final report on the technique of crypto-Nazism as applied by NAUMANN and his friends during the years 1950-53 - an episode which we consider to be the most important manifestation of endemic German nationalism since 1945.

4. The information in this paper is based on three main sources: (a) intelligence material gathered before the action in January (chiefly intercepted mail and telephone conversations and, to a small degree, secret source reports), (b) documentary material impounded on 14/15 Jan 53, and (c) interrogations of the seven men arrested by the British. (We have not yet had access to any information obtained by the Federal Authorities from interrogation of the eighth arrested, Dr. Friedrich-Karl BODENSTEIN, who gave himself up to them in Apr 53). An Appendix 'C-1' is included an index of 185 personalities, considered to have been the most important members of the NAUMANN Circle and their leading associates in the political parties, the military field, governmental offices and abroad. It is hoped to issue for local distribution a further list of at least 1,000 names of other less significant contacts, as revealed particularly by the impounded documents.

5. It is emphasised that this paper makes no attempt to deal with "the NAUMANN Case" from the point of view of German or Allied High Commission law. It is purely an intelligence research study and, while all statements in it are believed to be justified by available evidence, it is not claimed in any way that they could all be proved in a court of law.

GENERAL

6. Research based on intelligence material had already before the action of Jan 53 revealed the existence of "a group of former leading Nazis, plotting covertly to exploit their influence over the many minor ex-Nazis who are as yet unconverted to democratic ideals, with the aim of ultimately regaining political power for themselves" (BIO(C) paper on "The Gauleiters' Circle" issued in Dec 52). The general

/lines ...

activities of this group, which was termed by us the "Cauldrons' Circle", were as follows:

- (a) the development out of the crypto-Nazi Bruderschaft movement and adoption of its well-known technique of covert infiltration;
- (b) the attempt to exploit the ex-servicemen's organisations as an ultra-nationalist political pressure-group;
- (c) the secret meetings of the inner clique;
- (d) the encouragement of pro-Nazi propaganda;
- (e) the contact with the leaders of the extreme right-wing splinter-groups; and
- (f) the infiltration of the respectable right-wing parties.

Sufficient and adequately established details of these activities were known to us to justify the conclusion that a potentially dangerous long-term conspiracy against the democratic order and Allied policy in western Germany was being hatched covertly, and that the danger would increase unless it was thoroughly exposed.

The most important gap in our knowledge at this time concerned the exact nature of the Circle's plans for the future, e.g. while it was known that NUTTMANN had attended secret meetings in DUESSELDORF and HAMBURG in Nov 52, the contents of his speeches could then only be surmised. In the same way, the fact of the secret meeting on 12 Dec 52 between General KRFT, Federal Chairman of the RHE, and leaders of the Circle was known, but the subjects discussed were not. Both these particular gaps have now been filled as a result of the investigations following on the arrests.

Probably the most valuable single achievement of these investigations was the discovery amongst NUTTMANN's papers of a number of files containing quantities of his speeches and drafts prepared during the past three years. Amongst these were found the texts of both the DUESSELDORF and HAMBURG speeches, as well as of several other speeches and of numerous press articles compiled by him. Although there is a considerable gap in NUTTMANN's diaries of his political conversations (which is referred to in para. 43 below), the impounded files are sufficiently comprehensive to provide a clear picture of his political doctrines and plans. He himself emerges from a study of these documents more definitely than was known before as the calculating strategist who inspired the formation of the Circle and planned in the finest detail all its activities and aims. NUTTMANN was both the brains behind the Circle and its active and acknowledged leader, and it was his conception that it should form the nucleus and leadership corps of a future national mass-movement which would one day come to power under his own direction and control. It is for this reason that this group is entitled "The NUTTMANN Circle" and that we no longer use the term "Cauldrons' Circle", which gives a false impression of oligarchical rather than autarchical control. For this reason too, NUTTMANN's notes and speeches are quoted at length throughout the report, since they represent the clear blueprint of a technique in political subversion - the subversion of the existing democratic order by representatives of the former ruling caste of the Third Reich.

The impounded documents, while amplifying and clarifying our knowledge of the general lines of the Circle's activities (para. 6 above) have also thrown fresh light on aspects which were hitherto little, if at all, known to us, e.g. especially NUTTMANN's plans for the Circle (paras. 118-127 below) and the Circle's contacts abroad (paras. 104-105 below). Conclusive evidence was also obtained of BUCHHEIM's connection in 1952 with the August KRITZ espionage network, although this connection should not be regarded as a political association of the Circle with Russian or German intelligence agencies (see Appendix 'A').

As was only to be expected, the seven arrested men avoided as far as possible supplying us with additional information on their activities in the course of interrogations which had to be broken off at a critical stage, when the arrestees and their statements were handed over to German custody. Nevertheless, STEFEN and ZIMMERMAN's important admissions which are quoted in support of our other material, and which add to our knowledge both of the private meetings of NUTTMANN's intimate clique in Hamburg, and, in ZIMMERMAN's case, of the meeting with KRFT on 12 Dec 52 (see

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para. 7 above). Of the others SCHEEL gave information freely the subject of his personal contacts, but attempted unconvincingly to evade all embarrassing questions and to disclaim all responsibility for the Circle's activities; KUNFELN was removed to hospital before his interrogations could achieve much; SCHLIERING and HASELMEYER's knowledge of the Circle's most important plans and activities turned out to be limited, and they both minimised their own roles; finally, NAUMANN himself, who was alone in a position, had he so desired, to provide all the information we required, resisted interrogation so skilfully and effectively that few of his statements on subjects on which we were not already well-informed can be accepted as reliable evidence.

VERNER NAUMANN

11. Before an account of the aims and activities of the NAUMANN Circle is attempted a description of the man himself, his career and his personality is necessary.

(a) Career

12. Werner Hugo Robert NAUMANN was born in GURAU, Silesia, on 16 Jun 1909. According to his own notes (impounded documents), coming from a lower middle-class family, he came under strong socialist influence in a youth movement. At that time the nationalist element in the programme of the NSDAP made less appeal to him than the social, for, at seventeen, he "was concerned to look for a solution to the prevalent social injustices in the class struggle". A young worker invited him to a Nazi discussion-evening and, as NAUMANN writes, he found there the spirit of comradeship that he was seeking and joined at once ("Ich war sofort dabei"). The parallel to the outlook of his later chief, Josef GOEBBELS, in the latter's initial support of the SA-SSER wing of the Party is striking. Like GOEBBELS, NAUMANN had a successful academic career. A boyhood acquaintance of his (now an SD sympathiser) has written that "NAUMANN was easily top of his class in passing matriculation (Abitur) and afterwards studied law". He subsequently obtained the degrees of Doctor of Law and Diplom-Volkswirt (Political Economy). "I often heard him speaking in those days", his former acquaintance continues, "both in his private capacity and as a politician. He possessed unusual ability, enormous energy and a great gift of self-expression in both speech and writing. He was a fanatical National Socialist ever since 1928".

13. NAUMANN's own notes leave little doubt on the last point, and his subsequent career under the Third Reich further confirms it. He achieved rapid promotion in the Propaganda Ministry, interrupted only by brief periods of war service, first with the Luftwaffe (Flak) and later with the SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. He was promoted SS Brigadefuehrer in 1943, and succeeded Leopold GUTTNER as senior State-Secretary to GOEBBELS in Apr 44. In Apr 45 he remained with HITLER and GOEBBELS in the Reich Chancellery bunker in BERLIN until the end, and during this time made broadcast appeals to the Germans to fight on in loyalty to the Fuehrer. His reward was designation as Reich Propaganda Minister in succession to GOEBBELS in HITLER's political testament.

14. NAUMANN escaped from the bunker on 2 May 45 together with BORGENI, JOELNN and other Nazi leaders, but he separated from the rest, and it was not officially known until 1950 whether he had survived. His own account of the intervening years under interrogation was a deliberately vague and superficial one and, in the absence of corroborative evidence, it can only be accepted with the greatest reserve. He claimed to have lived underground in the Harz area during 1945-46 and to have been arrested and released again on three separate occasions by the Russians, who failed to establish his true identity. In Spring 1946, according to his statement, he crossed into the Western Zones and continued to live under an assumed name working as a mason, without contact with his former friends, until the beginning of 1950. NAUMANN steadfastly refused to give any further details of his whereabouts and activities during this period.

15. He stated that from Feb to Apr 50 he lived in TUEBINGEN (Wuerttemberg), Hoelderlinstr. 29, and that during this period he reported in his own name to the French Occupation authorities (Deuxieme Bureau) in TUEBINGEN and received from them his formal discharge from the German Armed Forces. There seems little doubt that NAUMANN did in fact live in TUEBINGEN at this time and that he emerged to some extent from hiding, since he noted in an address-book (impounded documents) several names and addresses of associates in TUEBINGEN and the adjacent area. These names included that of Dr. Kurt KIESINGER, former official of the German Foreign Office during the War entrusted with the co-ordination of policy concerning foreign language broadcasts (in which capacity he had come into contact with NAUMANN in the Propaganda Ministry) and now a Bundestag Deputy and one of the leading younger members of the CDU. Other

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contacts of NAUMANN's at this time were several ex-Propaganda Ministry officials and Hitler Youth leaders active in the Deutsche Union. A possible explanation of NAUMANN's statement concerning the French authorities is provided by the entry "PERNOT" with a TUBINGEN telephone number in the address-book. We know of a Capitaine PERNOT of the Deuxieme Bureau in TUBINGEN, who was reported in early 1950 to be a De Gaullist and to be maintaining contact with the leaders of the Deutsche Union Gottfried GRIENLICH and Karl-Heinz MENDE (both names also noted in the same address-book) and of the Bruderschaft, FRITKE-CRICKSCH and BECK-BROICHSITTER. PERNOT's motives for his contact with these circles and for his "regularisation" of NAUMANN's position (if, in fact, he did so) remain unexplained.

16. NAUMANN claimed to have lived from April to Autumn 1950 at an address in FRANKFURT-am-Main which he could no longer remember. No other evidence on this subject is available, although it is believed that his stay in FRANKFURT was concerned with unsuccessful attempts to arrange his denazification through a lawyer, Dr. Peter GAST (a former colleague in the Propaganda Ministry). "Autumn 1950", moreover, seems too late a date for his arrival in DUESSELDORF. He visited a friend from Propaganda Ministry days, Herbert LUCHT, who now owned an import-export business at DUESSELDORF-BUEDEWEG, L. erickstr. 33, was given employment by him as business-manager of the firm and took up residence in his house. The date given by Frau LUCHT in her "intimate journal" for the arrival of NAUMANN at her house was 15 Jul 50. This woman, Frau Lea Slikey LUCHT nee van DIEVOET, a former Belgian collaborator, played a very important part in NAUMANN's subsequent existence. After her husband's death in Sep 51, she became owner of the firm and continued to employ NAUMANN, who still resided in her house, as business-manager at a salary of DM 600 per month. There seems little doubt that their relationship was an intimate one, since love-letters from him to her were found amongst the documents, although he still appears to be on good terms with his wife and five children, who live in STUTTGART. The most important point, however, is that Frau LUCHT became NAUMANN's most intimate confidant concerning his political activities. She attended many of his private discussions and accompanied him on his journeys abroad to meet foreign neo-Fascists (see paras. 70-80 below). NAUMANN even dedicated to her a bound volume of his draft speeches, press articles etc. during 1950 and 1951. No single one of his political associates, even in the intimate clique in DUESSELDORF, enjoyed his confidence to this extent or knew nearly so much about his contacts with foreign neo-Fascists and with FDP personalities - aspects of the Circle's activities which NAUMANN retained almost entirely in his own hands.

(b) Personality and Basic Political Beliefs

17. The picture of NAUMANN created by his career and the description of his boyhood acquaintance (see para. 12 above) - that of a very able and intelligent man dominated by an unusual energy and a political faith absorbed at the most impressionable age - is borne out by our knowledge of his subsequent activities, by the statements of his closest associates and by his own voluminous notes and writings. Perhaps his most striking quality is his energy. While conducting the business affairs of a very active firm (in itself a full-time job for the normal man) he yet found time to have almost daily political discussions with a wide circle of associates (on many of which he afterwards took copious notes in diaries), to maintain a regular correspondence with an even wider circle both within and outside Germany (some 700 names are noted in his address-book), to draft lengthy speeches (e.g. two of 36 and 24 pages in a fortnight in Nov 52), to contribute four to five-page articles to BORCHERS's weekly Information Service and other publications and to compile quantities of notes concerning on different aspects of the Third Reich, on current political events and on the international situation.

18. Study of these notes and drafts bears testimony to his whole-hearted loyalty to HITLER and the Nazi Regime. He had assembled so much material on this subject (newspaper-cuttings, photographs, extracts from books etc. as well as his own notes) that it seems likely that he was intending to publish at a suitable moment in the future a book justifying the Third Reich, possibly as an introduction to his own autobiography and current political theories and aims. This was presumably to be his "Mein Kampf", the bible of the new mass-movement which he intended in future years to grow out of the sworn and covert association of the present.

19. A treatise compiled by NAUMANN evidently in 1949 or early 1950, the years of despair following the capitulation and before his resumption of political activity, throws an illuminating light on his basic beliefs. NAUMANN began with an attack on dialectical materialism and nihilism as the world's chief ill, in both their "Bolshevist" and "Liberal democratic" ("Manchesterism") forms. Liberal democracy merely paved the way for Bolshevism. Today the situation was the same as at the beginning of 1933. Freedom was "merely a cover for the culture of barbarism, Cuban,

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discordant music, homosexuality, the corruption of all the old virtues and traditions, social chaos, unemployment, etc. The NSDAP was a protest against all this; it was an attempt to create a "New Order or Elite".

"They fought for an Idea and a leader with a magnetic personality, who demanded of them the old virtues of discipline, self-sacrifice, comradeship and loyalty, joy in danger, battle and victory. Their aim was a national and socialist Reich of Germany as the continuation of German history towards a common European Order".

Racialism also was not lacking from NAUMANN's beliefs:

"All that still survived of healthy races and Nordic herpism", he added, "rallied voluntarily behind this great goal... It was a crusade against materialism, and, if at all, then only with this idea could the material and spiritual values of the western world be preserved".

Still in the mood of destructive despair which had pervaded the Chancellery Bunker, he continued:

"If this Idea cannot prevail, then it is better that we should go under... The history of the world runs exactly like every Germanic heroes' myth: the heroes are slain".

On the other hand:

"German victory in the last war would have ensured a breathing-space lasting decades for Europe, and thereby a peaceful future for the world. Would this have led to freedom?"

NAUMANN proceeds to point out that this is of no consequence. It was wrong to regard eastern ideas of freedom and parliamentary democracy as embodying all that was good.

"The Church, as an authoritarian institution, shows that the history of all democracy has also been the history of attacks against the natural and ethical order and against God... The fight of parliamentarianism against dictatorship, however, humbly it presents itself and however honestly it may at first be intended, leads today in reality to the most brutal terror and to human degradation".

NAUMANN here quotes as examples the internment camps, the "colony of Germany", and fourteen million refugees. Simply he appeals for the employment of authoritarian means to solve the world's problems.

"It is not our task," he concluded, "to point out the justice of authoritarian principles, but rather their necessity".

20. Further examples of NAUMANN's basic belief in National Socialism, too numerous to cite, can be found in NAUMANN's writings and speeches throughout the years 1938-52. One particular instance, however, is worth quotation in this context. In the draft of a speech prepared for delivery to a closed meeting of the Bundesschaft in 1941 (see para. 35 below), NAUMANN wrote that a third solution must be found between the collectivism of the East and the unfettered individualism of the West. The Church could not provide this lead; it was too handicapped by its mistakes in the past.

"The third solution", NAUMANN added, "was revealed by HITLER. In spite of serious review I can find no fault in it. The admittedly often regrettable circumstances which accompanied the progress of his movement are slight compared with the human shortcomings of other revolutions and must be reckoned as growing pains or symptoms of immaturity. His successes, however, were mighty. The fact that German soldiers reached the Caucasus as well as the Pyrenees is proof of the power of his Idea. His plan collapsed because East and West marched against him together".

21. ... further marked characteristics of NAUMANN's personality which was an important bearing on the political activities of his Circle in the years 1938-52. As mentioned above (para. 16), he retained almost entirely in his own hands control over the most important and delicate decisions of the Circle, as well as friends in the NSDAP at home and in neo-Fascist movements abroad. There was never any doubt in his own mind or in those of his followers as to who would be the leader of the German national regeneration for which they were working. His close collaborator, ex-SS Brigadeführer Paul ZIEGLER, himself still a devoted National Socialist, a man

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of some prominence in the Nazi hierarchy and NAUMANN's senior by fourteen years, stated under interrogation:

"NAUMANN is the only person in Germany able to express our views with complete clarity and, if he were not too sensible to do so, he could now if he wished form an organisation and command the support of hundreds and thousands of loyal enthusiasts".

NAUMANN pursued his goal with all the single-minded intensity of the would-be dictator convinced of his destiny, but with a strangely cold and passionless calculation of his own. All the indications from his attitude in prison and recent intercepted letters from him to Frau LUXT show that, far from being deterred from further activity, he is more than ever determined to achieve his aim and regards his present incarceration as a milestone on the road to power with the possibility of future propaganda exploitation. (HITLER's successful exploitation of his trial after the MUNICH Putsch of 1923 doubtless serves as an instructive precedent for him). The most revealing light on this aspect of NAUMANN's character is thrown by the "intimate journal" of Frau LUXT, the one person who was in a better position than any other to appreciate it. As she herself wrote (on 16 Oct 52):

"What I know above all is that he does not realise how clearly I see into him and I do not believe, without wishing to be categorical, that a single corner of his soul - a tortuous one - is unknown to me. For example, I am of the opinion that many of the so-called politicians of greater or lesser stature who come here would be only too glad to be one of the, let us say, fifty 'Chosen' in Germany. The most ambitious, and there is no lack of them, would be overjoyed if they managed to win a position amongst the first ten. But for him, there is no question of this; it is the first place he wants, and that well ahead of the rest".

NAUMANN'S RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY - THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CIRCLE

22. As soon as he was established in DUSSELDORF-BUNDERICH, had begun his employment and regularised his position with the local German police (either they or the Land authorities appear to have accepted the reappearance of the missing Reich Propaganda Minister-designate with equanimity), NAUMANN began to plan the resumption of his political activity. The first entry in his diary of this period (layman's documents), recording an evening's discussion on 20 Aug 50 with Arno BREKER, the well-known sculptor and a former National Socialist, shows that from the first he was filled with a sense of his personal mission:

"Arno BREKER says, 'A month ago I advised you not to undertake political activity. That advice has now been overtaken by events. You must do something now'. Of course he advises caution. I should not let myself be pushed. Then he says that, of all the people he knows, only one could master the situation and that is I. A doctrine could come from me which would take over all that is good from the past and add to it what a new age demands. I should go into solitude and work on it ... His words weigh heavily on me, and grave doubts arise as to whether I will be able to fulfil his expectations".

23. NAUMANN records his first meeting with the former Reichsjugendführer Arthur Moos since May 45 on the following day (21 Aug 50):

"NAUMANN only started to take an interest in politics again in the last month ... He believes that the majority of his former colleagues would follow him. He requests close contact and declares himself ready to collaborate. He maintains close touch with KUEPFER and with the Bruderschaft".

24. NAUMANN's diary indicates briefly how he renewed contact with many former political colleagues during the next few months and thereby began to form the basis for the creation of his Circle. After a significant private discussion on 26 Aug 50 with Dr. Ernst ACHERBACH, then Federal Chairman of the FDP Foreign Affairs Committee, (which is reported in detail in para. 97 below), NAUMANN notes that he held subsequent conversations with the following personalities:-

/Dr. Hjalmar SCHULT...

as Gauleiter Karl KUHMANN of ELZBURG. Honorary president of the Bruderschaft. Later associate of NAUMANN. Arrested 15 Jan 53.

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- (a) **Hjalmar SCHACHT** (ex-Reichsminister for Economics and President of the Reichsbank)
- (b) **ALMANN** (see para. 23 above)
- (c) **Freiherr Johann von STEIN** (ex-Generalmajor, prominent in ex-servicemen's circles and close associate of GUDERIAN)
- (d) **Gottfried GRIESMAYR** (ex-HJ Gebietsführer in charge of the department for ideological training in the Reichsjugendführung, now a leader of the Deutsche Union)
- (e) **Heinz SIEFEN** (ex-NSDAP Landrat and Ortsgruppenleiter, at this time a Deutsche Union leader. Owner of the FUNKIAL Steel Works, SOLINGEN. Arrested 14 Jan 53).
- (f) **Alfred von OWEN** (former personal assistant to GOEBBELS. Director of the "Freie Presse" in Argentina since 1951).
- (g) **Kurt KRAEWZLEIN** (former Gaupropagandaleiter Westfalen-Sued).
- (h) **Hans-Ulrich RUDOL** (ex-Luftwaffe Oberst and holder of the highest German decoration of the last war. Now member of a group of Nazi émigrés in Argentina).
- (i) **Otto SKORZENY** (ex-SS Obersturmbannführer and "liberator" of MUSSOLINI. Now in exile in MADRID).
- (j) **Graefin Ilse von FINGENSTEIN** (Mistress of SKORZENY)
- (k) **Alfred FRANK-GRIGASCH** (ex-SS Obersturmbannführer. Founder and theorist of the Bruderschaft. Disappeared in the Russian Zone in Oct 51).
- (l) **Dr. Friedrich Karl BORNEMANN** (at this time press expert of the Bruderschaft - see also para. 32 below).
- (m) **Hans MARTIN** (ex-Oberst and LO of the OKW to the Propaganda Ministry).
- (n) **Dr. Wolf RIENHARDT** (ex-Chief of Staff to the NSDAP Press Department. Now a lawyer in BIELEFELD).
- (o) **Hans Joachim Graf von REISCHACH** (former owner of a press agency and official of the NSDAP Press Department).
- (p) **Hans SCHAEZ van BERK** (former editor of the SS paper "Das Schwarze Korps").
- (q) **Dr. Franz HAYLER** (former State-Secretary in the Reich Ministry of Economics).
- (r) **Dr. Hans GRIMM** (Nazi author of "Volk ohne Raum" etc.).

25. It is evident that these discussions were mainly exploratory. NAUMANN was anxious to renew his acquaintance with prominent figures of the Nazi regime, ascertain their attitude to the current political situation, and survey the possibilities for regaining influence in the new circumstances. He records that weeks followed during which he had to devote himself entirely to his economic existence. Only in the evenings did "the old comrades" occasionally drop in. His contact with BORNEMANN, however, led to the occasional compilation of articles which were published in the latter's Information Service.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE RIGHT-WING FIELD (LATE 1950)

26. The political situation which confronted NAUMANN when he conducted his exploratory talks towards the end of 1950 was hardly an encouraging one for a leading ex-Nazi anxious to regain political influence and power. Many of his former colleagues were dead, missing or serving long sentences as war criminals, and in most cases the survivors were still officially debarred from overt political activity.

27. There was admittedly no lack of ex-Nazis, mainly minor officials in the old hierarchy, who were anxious to revive the old beliefs and traditions in new parties /and ...

movements, with the result that by this time numerous extreme right-wing splinter parties and groups had sprung up in different parts of the Federal Republic. They were then, however, and have remained since an unimpressive political force, unable by their own unco-ordinated efforts to rekindle the dormant nationalism of the German people. With the dreaded Russians in occupation of half Germany and the economy of their own half rapidly reviving with American assistance, the great majority of West Germans saw little to attract them in the profitless and unconstructive criticisms of BONN and the Western powers by strutting ex-Nazis, themselves poor imitations of their predecessors, riven by petty dissensions and conflicting personal ambitions. The most successful of these parties, the Sozialistische Reichs Partei (SRP), was, it is true, approaching its zenith and was soon to score a success in the Land Elections in Lower Saxony, but the more discerning ex-Nazis appreciated that this was largely due to special local circumstances, and that under its existing leadership the party would eventually share the fate of its rivals, i.e. decline, disintegration and oblivion.

28. Meanwhile a few former Nazis were joining the major democratic parties, especially the FDP, but the majority, still under the influence of what they considered to be the good principles and positive achievements of the Third Reich, regarded these parties with disfavour and the minor extreme right-wing groups with contempt. These elements came to be known in nationalist circles as the "Abschitsstehende Krafte" (i.e. those who shunned overt political affiliations in the existing circumstances), and since 1950 all parties have increasingly competed for their support.

THE BRUDERSCHAFT EPISODE - THE FORMULATION OF THE TECHNIQUE

29. The first real attempt to rally the "Abschitsstehende" into a political organization was made by the Bruderschaft, a "supra-party" movement founded in 1949 by a group of ex-Nazis recently released from Allied internment. The theorist and founder of the Bruderschaft, FRANK-GRICHSCH (see para. 24 above), realising that an overt neo-Nazi party had little or no prospects of success, conceived the plan of a secret association of Nazi sympathisers, winning key positions in all the main walks of public life and the political parties through the discreet cultivation of officials and the infiltration of the movement's own adherents. This "elite" should, if possible, co-ordinate from behind the scenes the activities of all the extreme right-wing groups, and should also develop connections with like-minded neo-Fascist and ex-collaborationist circles elsewhere in Western Europe with a view to the formation, under German leadership, of a European "New Order" independent of both East and West.

30. This ambitious programme, which eventually proved too much for the limited capacity of the leaders FRANK-GRICHSCH and BECK-BROICHSMITH, nevertheless gave promise of some success in the winter of 1949-50, when the plausible anti-Communist and pan-European propaganda of the Bruderschaft attracted the interest of a number of influential ex-SS officers, as well as of small right-wing circles in several other West European countries. By the time, however, that ALBANN, BORNEHANN and SIEPEN (see paras. 23-24 above) introduced KUMANN to the Movement, it had already been prematurely exposed in the press and was beginning to decline and disintegrate.

31. The theory and technique of the Bruderschaft made an immediate appeal to KUMANN, and strongly influenced the formulation of his own later technique. It also brought him into touch with a number of convinced national socialists who were later to form the hard core of his own circle. On 30 Nov 50, SIEPEN, who at that time was transferring his allegiance from the overt and pro-West Deutsche Union (DU) to the Bruderschaft, wrote to BORNEHANN after a private talk with KUMANN (impounded documents):

"I have great hopes for the future through Dr. KUMANN. He has gained a very favourable impression of you. At heart he seems to be more on the side of the Bruderschaft than of the DU and he shares my views on the DU's policy. Through him I met ... /RUDEL - see para. 24 above/ yesterday ... Please treat the news of his presence in the Federal Republic as highly confidential ... R. is in my view as valuable a politician as a soldier. I will give you a verbal report on the outcome of his conversations with leading personalities of the past and present".

In his speech to the DUESSELDORF Conference of his Circle two years later (see below), KUMANN, in stressing the necessity for an elite corps of leaders ("Fuehrerkorps") stated:

"The Bruderschaft had in its day quite rightly recognised what was wanted, only it had unfortunately talked too much when it should have been acting".

NAUMANN's most important gain from his association with the Bruderschaft was the acquisition of BORNEMANN, who became his most active lieutenant and chief organizer. BORNEMANN, who had been a HW leader and propaganda official with the NSDAP Gaulleitung in COLOGNE, was at this time the press expert of the Bruderschaft. He ran a press service, the "Deutscher Unabhängiger Zeitungsdienst (DUZ)", in DUESSELDORF with subscribers amongst influential industrialist circles in the Ruhr, as well as his own political information service, the "Kommentare, Berichte und Informationen (KBI)". In explaining the objects of the 'KBI' in a letter of 2 Jun 50 (impounded documents) to Helmut DUMERJEU (later a correspondent of the "Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung"), BORNEMANN wrote:

"The collaborators and promoters of my information service are the Bruderschaft, Nationale Union, Deutsche Reichs-partei and Nationale Rechte, as well as smaller groups. Please treat this statement as confidential and only for your personal information. The information service is intended to prepare these organisations and their active members for the necessary amalgamation of all these forces, and also to appeal to all like-minded groups, e.g. circles of ex-officers, ex-RD [Reichs Arbeits Dienst] leaders etc."

BORNEMANN's association with all these diverse nationalist groups as well as with industrialist and military circles and foreign sympathisers played a large part in building up the later widespread ramifications of the NAUMANN Circle.

33. NAUMANN saw in the 'KBI' a useful instrument for the first stages of his political work, the "Sammlung der Kräfte" or gathering of chosen members of the "war-generation" in a closely-knit association (but not yet a united organisation). Through the publication in it of political leading articles anonymously or under a pseudonym, he was in a position to foster in his readers an ultra-nationalist and pro-Nazi orientation towards all the political developments of the day without yet revealing his hand to the general public or the authorities. The bound collection of his works during end 1950 and 1951, which he dedicated to Frau LUCHT (see para. 16 above) with the significant title "A new start and the old objective", contains a series of draft political essays which show that he wrote nearly all the leading articles in the 'KBI' from Dec 50 onwards. These follow in the collection several outspokenly anti-Allied drafts, which evidently remained unpublished, as well as three articles in the Deutsche Union paper "Das Gewissen" ("Conscience"), the first dated as early as 1 Jun 50. In the 1 Jan 51 issue of the 'KBI', NAUMANN published an unsigned appeal to his readers, which concludes:

"For this, friends, let us fight. For a free Germany in a free Europe. The 'KBI' will attempt to supply you with all the material you need for this work. Service for Germany, for our sacred Fatherland, is a worthy aim. We do it not because we are certain of success, but because we are convinced of the rightness and justice of our cause. Let Germany be our star and hope. Let us follow this road together".

In subsequent 'KBI' NAUMANN and BORNEMANN continued their endeavour on these lines to rekindle the nationalist spirit of their readers, who, in most cases ex-Party members or Wehrmacht officers, were already susceptible to this propaganda. No opportunity was lost to attack the Occupation Powers and their "lackeys" in BONN, e.g. in the leading 'KBI' article of 22 Feb 51 "So schlimm wird es nicht werden" (it will not be so bad as all that), NAUMANN, under the pseudonym of "Dr. NAUMANN", wrote that the ruling class ("Führungsschicht") of BONN and the Western Democracies was "mediocre, complacent and cowardly".

"Salvation can never come from this ruling class", he added, "they can no longer save themselves, let alone the community. A new ruling class must replace them in the parliaments, directors' offices and seats of officialdom. What crime have they committed? The worst: they are cowardly and shirk the issue. They have thereby, unwillingly or no, become the pacemakers of Bolshevism. For this reason they must go, if the real Western World is to be saved".

35. At the beginning of 1951 the Bruderschaft split into two rival factions. NAUMANN retained contact with the FRANK-GRIGSCH element in the Rhineland, but there is little evidence that he undertook any more active work on behalf of the organisation than to give the leaders the benefit of his counsel and guidance from the background. A good example of this is provided by a draft dated 21 Apr 51 in NAUMANN's 1951 file, which was clearly the manuscript of a speech to be delivered to a closed meeting of the FRANK-GRIGSCH circle. We do not yet know whether this speech was in fact delivered, but its importance lies in the fact that it represents the formulation of NAUMANN's

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technique and long-term plan for the recovery of power by the former ruling caste of the Third Reich. (The section of the speech revealing NAUMANN's devotion to HITLER and his doctrines is quoted in para. 20 above).

"You" [i.e. the Bruderschaft], NAUMANN wrote, "have gathered together for political work. Your intention: to gain influence and thereby power to realise your ideas and political programme - the liberation of Germany".

He then stressed that a political "Idea" and "Weltanschauung" must be put forward in opposition to the "rootless party leaders". He himself preferred the Idea of the Personality (1933) to that of the Mass (1789), but the support of the masses was admittedly necessary for the attainment of power.

"The primary task of a political grouping, such as ours", he continued, "must be to win influence amongst the masses, to oppose our own ideas to those currently prevalent and thereby to draw our own people and, if possible, the others also into the realm of the new political gospel. This laborious work has already been carried out, however, by another before us [an obvious reference to HITLER] and a political movement to represent our ideas is already there ... Nevertheless, although the way via a mass-movement would admittedly appear to be the easiest, the appeal to the masses can and must not yet be made. We are not yet morally prepared for this work and Germany is still a colony. We do not want to take our orders from the PETERSBERG [i.e. of the Allied High Commission at that time] and would above all wish to spare our people from being faced through us with a famine, a result which could rapidly be obtained by the Occupation Powers through the throttling of our imports.

"To equip ourselves for the active appeal to the masses in future is the main object of our activity". As apostles of a new political gospel, we must firstly create the channel into which the stormy strength of our people, when eventually aroused, can flow; and secondly we must keep alive the belief in freedom which is not yet, and must never be, lost".

NAUMANN continued that the Bruderschaft idea of an "Elite" was an excellent but difficult one. There must be no disunity in the leadership circle ("Fuehrungsgremium") and only men of special attainments could belong to it.

"If you form a small, closely-knit and dedicated group" (kleine, in sich geschlossene und verschlossene Gruppe), then you will become in this leaderless and rudderless Germany the magnet which draws to it all forces of iron. So the success of your work depends largely on yourselves. The political groupings in Germany will not be able materially to impede you and therefore need not worry you unduly".

After his reference to the collapse of HITLER's plans due to the alliance between East and West (para. 20 above), NAUMANN concludes:

"That is now all over, and a new chance is therefore offered to the European Revolution ... So let us prepare the way (i) for the exposition of the fundamental principles for which we are fighting, (ii) for the definition of the goal which draws us, and (iii) for the steering of the masses into paths prepared and laid down by us. I hope that your organisation can provide an important contribution to this task".

36. As is known, the Bruderschaft failed to provide this contribution and finally collapsed when FRANK-GRICHSCH disappeared in the Russian Zone in Oct 51. Meanwhile, however, NAUMANN, who had clearly always envisaged himself in the role of leader of the "small, closely-knit and dedicated group" (a phrase which he was later to repeat - see para. 127 below), had gathered the remnants into his own Circle and was proceeding with his first major attempt to implement his technique of political subversion.

INFLUENCE IN THE MILITARY FIELD- THE FIRST IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TECHNIQUE

37. Although this section of the paper is entitled "Influence in the military field", it is important to appreciate that NAUMANN and his followers attempted to gain this influence not for its own sake but as a means to the political goal which they always had before them. Convinced of the futility of forcing his own overt

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At this stage, N. ULMANN was always to give back to the public a vehicle for his own exploitation. In every speech to his closed circle of which he has a record, he was at a point of reviewing the various parties and groups which might be suitable for this purpose. Up to the moment of his arrest on 14 Jan 53 he had still not decided to adopt any one organisation, but rather to try to exploit as many as possible. In the summer of 1951, however, he was convinced that a united ex-servicemen's organisation offered the best prospects, and he threw all his energies into an endeavour to use it for the implementation of his political subversion technique. Although the attempt turned out to be a serious failure, N. ULMANN never abandoned the hope of turning to his own account the reservoir of nationalist and pro-Nazi sentiment which he always believed still to exist amongst ex-Wehrmacht and SS circles. He had some evidence to support this belief, and it would be premature even now to judge it as invalid.

38. Amongst the personalities of the old regime with whom N. ULMANN conducted his exploratory discussions in the autumn of 1950 were several whose influence was prominent in ex-Wehrmacht and SS circles. For instance, it is evident that he must have had far-reaching discussions in Oct-Nov 50 with RUDEL, one of the most popular German heroes of the last war, who was on an illegal visit to Germany from his voluntary exile in Argentina (see paras. 24 and 31 above). An entry in Frau LUCHT's guest-book shows that RUDEL visited the LUCHT-N. ULMANN household on 25 Oct 50. In a letter to BECK-BROICHSMITH dated 27 Jan 51, RUDEL enclosed a signed Bruderschaft appeal for support to ex-Generaloberst Heinz GUDERLIN, and asked BECK to keep N. ULMANN informed, since he (RUDEL) had promised N. ULMANN not to undertake anything without consulting him (source: censorship).

39. In spite of this promise, however, N. ULMANN had the greatest difficulty during the following years in restraining the vain and simple RUDEL from making tactless and inflammatory speeches on public platforms. Although N. ULMANN prepared the draft of a planned press interview on 26 May 51, in which RUDEL was designed by him to make a violent attack on the Federal Government and its remilitarisation policy, RUDEL, now in touch also with the leaders of the SRP, evidently went too far for him. N. ULMANN wrote to RUDEL on 2 Aug 51 concerning his recent public utterances as destructive rather than constructive in their strictures on Bonn. In spite of RUDEL's magnificent past record, N. ULMANN added, he must subordinate his own individuality to "our cause". Faulty and inconsistent statements in public would damage not only RUDEL's personal credit, but also "the association to which we both, as I assume, feel we belong". RUDEL should gather an active following behind him by means of a social welfare scheme for former members of his Luftwaffe squadrons. (For details of N. ULMANN's more recent relationship with RUDEL see paras. 51-52 below).

40. Corroborative evidence, at least in the case of GUDERLIN, has been found amongst N. ULMANN's impounded documents for some 12 years reports stating that by the beginning of 1951 N. ULMANN was already assuming the role of unofficial political adviser to GUDERLIN and ex-SS Oberstgruppenführer Paul HÄUSER (the senior surviving officer of the "Affen SS"). An entry in N. ULMANN's diary indicates that he met GUDERLIN in autumn 1950 and strongly advised him against public political activity in collaboration with August HÄUSELSCHER (Deutsche Gemeinschaft) and the BDI (now Gesamtdeutscher Block) - a plan which had been proposed by Freiherr von SEELE (see para. 24 above). According to N. ULMANN's diary, GUDERLIN accepted his (N. ULMANN's) advice. With regard to HÄUSER, an entry in Frau LUCHT's guest-book shows that he visited them at BUDENICH on 26 May 51.

41. By the Summer of 1951 rapid progress was being made in the formation of ex-servicemen's and regimental old comrades' associations and a strong movement had started to co-ordinate their activities under a common roof-organisation. Negotiations were taking place for a fusion of the two strongest associations, the conservative and traditionalist "Bundversorgungsberechtigter ehemaliger Wehrmacht-angehöriger (BvV)" of ex-Admiral Gottfried ILSEN and the radically nationalist "Schutz-Bund deutscher Soldaten (BdS)" of ex-General August KILIAN. The BdS was running under its auspices the "Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung (DSZ)", which was already becoming the most influential paper in ex-servicemen's circles. N. ULMANN saw in these developments a fruitful field for his own political exploitation. He and BORNHEIMANN already had a number of contacts amongst the ex-SS and N. D. elements who predominated in the BdS, more especially amongst the staff of the "DSZ", which consisted then (and still does today) largely of former members of the Propaganda Ministry and its subordinate units (e.g. Wehrmacht propaganda companies) and of HITLER's Reichsicherheitshauptamt (RSHA). The chief political leader-writer of the paper (now its chief editor), ... UHLIG, a former Ministerialrat in the Propaganda Ministry, was, according to N. ULMANN's statement under interrogation, proposed by him for the post.

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42. In his diary NAUMANN recorded a private meeting with GUDERLIN on 17 Aug 51 at his home at SCHLINGAU (Upper Bavaria), at which the whole plan of political exploitation of the situation in the ex-servicemen's field was formulated between them. (NOTE: The following account of the meeting is a précis, consisting mainly of verbatim translated extracts, of NAUMANN's notes in his diary). Concerning GUDERLIN himself, NAUMANN noted that he was "admittedly no National-Socialist in the real sense, but for all that a good German in the old Prussian tradition and therefore a strong opponent of the 20 July Plot". According to NAUMANN, GUDERLIN had requested an urgent private discussion between the two of them concerning his (GUDERLIN's) possible political activity in future, since it was now clear that "BONN and the Occupation Powers" were anxious to exclude him from employment in the remilitarisation sphere. Meanwhile the recent lively activity in the ex-servicemen's field had shown that the time for action had come and that further standing-aside could lead to complete exclusion. NAUMANN agreed to GUDERLIN's two suggestions:-

- (a) that a roof-organisation of such men as ex-Generals Hermann-Bernhard RUCKE, Johannes FRIESENER and Josef HILKE, ex-SS Oberstgruppenführer HILKE and ex-admirals Otto SCHNIEDER and Helmut HEYE, should publicly appeal to the ex-servicemen's leaders to unite in a Soldiers' League. GUDERLIN offered to speak individually to these officers on these lines.
- (b) after the foundation of the Soldiers' League a public soldiers' rally should take place in North Germany, at which a Resolution on the question of remilitarisation by the above committee (i.e. in (a) above) and a speech incorporating it by GUDERLIN would be held.

GUDERLIN stated that the policy of the League would be "sharply anti-BONN without regard for the Allied High Commission". They agreed that out of the League should grow a great party which would participate in the 1953 Elections etc. NAUMANN pointed out that the League must be "European". He also suggested "the possibility, through the creation of working-parties for foreign affairs, soldiers' questions, constitutional legal matters etc., of forming committees with which one might one day be able to govern" (i.e. apparently a sort of shadow cabinet - see also para. 48 below). NAUMANN would at once "work on" /presumably develop his influence in/ the 'DSZ' and other press organs which might be worth supporting. The strictest secrecy was essential /presumably in the planning stages/. NAUMANN would talk to HILKE and GRUBERT (ex-SS Brigadeführer). The discussion was very harmonious, but GUDERLIN, NAUMANN noted, was unfortunately by no means physically fit. NAUMANN would start work at once on drafts for the foundation of the League, its objectives and co-ordination with the Schutzbund (BdS).

43. NAUMANN's final note on the meeting was "Continuation of the discussion in BUEDERICH (see Book II)". We know that GUDERLIN visited him at his home on 11 Nov 51 from an entry in Frau LUGER's guest-book. Unfortunately, however, no record of any further discussions with GUDERLIN was found amongst NAUMANN's papers, and there are no further entries in his diary after 17 Aug 51, apart from one unimportant note dated Jan 53. Under interrogation NAUMANN claimed that his most important political diaries were not in our possession, since he had left them for safe-keeping with a friend who was a US officer with the occupation forces (whose name and particulars he refused to disclose). We have no means of checking the validity of this statement which cannot be accepted at its face value. Nevertheless "Book II" appears to be missing from NAUMANN's papers, and it is highly probable that he has successfully hidden or otherwise disposed of political diaries covering the period Sep 51-Dec 52.

44. NAUMANN's notes on his meeting with GUDERLIN on 17 Aug 51 (para. 42 above) confirm reports at the time from a reliable secret source that GUDERLIN and NAUMANN were planning to develop a new nationalist political party out of the ex-servicemen's associations. They also show that the foundation of the German Soldiers' Union ("Verband Deutscher Soldaten" - VDS) in BONN on 9 Sep 51 followed the plan formulated secretly by GUDERLIN and NAUMANN three weeks before. As reported at the time, GUDERLIN played the major part at the foundation meeting and, under the threat of his own complete withdrawal, succeeded in persuading the rival leaders of the BvW and BdS to effect a complete fusion of their two organisations within the framework of the VDS. The Provisional Presidium of the VDS closely resembled the committee envisaged by GUDERLIN and NAUMANN, including as it did FRIESENER, RUCKE, HILKE and GUDERLIN himself. An "Appeal to Rally" to all German soldiers on behalf of the VDS was published in the 'DSZ' of 27 Sep 51, which in many ways represented GUDERLIN's and NAUMANN's ideas, and, in view of NAUMANN's note (para. 42 above) that he was going to start work on drafts of the League's objectives, it may well have been drafted by NAUMANN himself. On the subject of remilitarisation (on which GUDERLIN had proposed that a Resolution should be publicised) the Appeal stated: "We want to bring our

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influence to bear on all decisive questions affecting military matters. We include in this particularly the question of a contribution to the defence of Europe, for which German equality in every respect and the release of all our unjustly imprisoned comrades are incontrovertible pre-conditions" (underlining in original German). The 'DSZ' itself published a series of ultra-nationalist leading articles, closely following the tone and substance of NAUMANN's contributions to the 'KEI', by his friend and former subordinate UHLIG (see para. 41 above). Two letters from UHLIG to NAUMANN in Jan and Feb 52 (source: censorship) showed that they had been collaborating on their policy line. In the first, UHLIG wrote that, since he now regarded German acceptance of the SCHUMAN Plan and the defence contribution as inevitable, he intended to "demand the highest price" in German national interests, and he requested NAUMANN's further constant advice and encouragement. In the second, he suggested to NAUMANN that it was important for the future progress of their cause that NAUMANN should develop the 'KEI' as a political information service of the highest grade.

45. On its foundation, therefore, the VDS appeared to be the ideal political vehicle which NAUMANN was seeking for the implementation of his technique. A united ex-servicemen's organisation was now apparently in being, under the leadership of famous officers of the Second World War, pledged to represent German national interests on all military-political questions, and using as its mouthpiece a newspaper run by a group of ex-Nazis collaborating with NAUMANN and his Circle. Most important of all, the driving-spirit of the new organisation and the man behind the Provisional Chairman FRIESSNER was GUDERIAN, "the new HINDENBURG", who was privy to NAUMANN's plan. The VDS, however, as constituted at that time, was an artificial creation, containing the seeds of its own disintegration. Many of NAUMANN's supporters in the former BvW, who were also represented in the Provisional Praesidium, resented GUDERIAN's high-handed behaviour at the foundation meeting, and feared that the reactions of the press abroad and the party-politicians at home to the political demands of the new organisation would damage the pensions and social welfare claims of the former professional soldiers, which remained their chief concern. The world, as NAUMANN learned (a lesson which he did not forget), was not yet ready for an organisation which so plainly represented a revival of German nationalist and militarist traditions. Within a month of the foundation FRIESSNER's tactless public references to the "justice" of Germany's assault on Poland in 1939 and to "those who broke their oath" on 20 July 44 had brought a storm of criticism from all quarters, including the dissident BvW elements.

46. NAUMANN was reluctant, however, to give up hope of exploiting the VDS. In the collection of his works for 1951 (impounded documents) is the draft of a letter dated 22/Oct 51 to a Generaloberst (clearly GUDERIAN), in which he advised that every effort should be made to salvage the League, "which fits so perfectly into the political scene", so long as there was still any chance of success. The influence of the pro-Federal Government Generals and NAUMANN supporters should be reduced and more power given to those "representing the rank and file" of the soldiery. NAUMANN would arrange for GUDERIAN to address in DUESSELDORF a selected circle of 500 leading personalities. His final word of advice was that ex-General Bruno Ritter von HAUENSCHILD of MUNICH (one of his main military associates, who died in Mar 53) should be attached as adviser to FRIESSNER.

47. The next item in NAUMANN's 1951 file, an undated "Vortrags-Notiz" (apparently notes for an address to a closed circle compiled approximately in Nov 51), reveals how his plans were developing at this time. Influence was to be exerted on the elections of a new VDS Praesidium in Jan 52, he wrote, in order to bring about the leadership of a usable committee ("brauchbares Gremium"). NAUMANN's nominees were:

- (a) RANCKE
- (b) ex-Generalmajor Ernst BOLLERMEIER (a former BdS Land Chairman, shareholder in the 'DSZ' and member of NAUMANN's own clique)
- (c) ex-General of Pz Troops Traugott HEAR (Land Chairman of the VDS in Lower Saxony).
- (d) ex-Luftwaffe General Josef KRAMMER
- (e) ex-RAF General Dr. Herbert SCHREIDLER (Chairman of the Association of former members of the Reichs Arbeits Dienst).

"Herr X" (evidently a reference to GUDERIAN) should remain in the background until after the elections and then "attempt to achieve decisive influence over the VDS and build it up as originally planned". An attempt would also be made to exert influence

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...and branches "by getting in suitable personalities", especially in Bavaria, where von HAUENSCHILD was "our candidate".

Here was NAUMANN's first attempt to implement his technique clearly stated. Apparently with regard to GUDERLIN's role, he advised against the taking over of a "visible responsibility" at this stage; the time was not yet ripe. He himself would, however, undertake the organisational arrangements for the speech to be given to "300 personalities in public life" (see para. 46 above) under the auspices, not of the VDS, but of "a neutral society" (presumably either the "Rhein-Ruhr" industrialists club or BORNEMANN's "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur" - see paras. 84-85 below). After the speech there would be "a meeting of 10-20 old comrades in the most intimate circle". NAUMANN concluded by pointing the way to the ultimate objective:

"We must create a magnet for the politically homeless and leaderless millions of Germans ... Herr X [i.e. GUDERLIN] is gathering a circle of military personalities of the highest mental and moral qualities, while the undersigned [i.e. NAUMANN] is attempting to collect a similar circle of political personalities. In this way there can eventually be created the 'Ruetli-Gemeinschaft' from which the decisive impulses for a political new order stem".

48. NAUMANN referred again to the "political new order" in the final item of his 1951 file, the draft of a lengthy letter probably to von HAUENSCHILD:

"The political new order", he wrote, "can hardly be expected from the existing parties ... Our parliamentarians came with the victors and will also go with them. The Soldiers' League [VDS] can, however, become the great reformer of our people".

In this draft, NAUMANN referred repeatedly to a leading personality as "Wilhelm" and "our friend", by whom he evidently again meant GUDERLIN. He stressed the necessity for the 'DSZ' to be enlarged and subordinated to "Wilhelm", and added:

"A committee (Fuehrungsgremium) of six to ten political leaders for foreign and internal affairs, and social, labour, publicity, finance and youth questions should be set up, responsible only to the leader of the League (Bundesfuehrer). In this way we can achieve quite legally the leadership committee whose foundation has caused us so much thought" [i.e. the shadow cabinet which GUDERLIN and NAUMANN had planned on 17 Aug 51 - see para. 42 above]. "Our friend must decide whether he wants to be Bundesfuehrer himself or to remain in the background, in which case he must propose to us a man who is unconditionally reliable working to his instructions... The aim of the League is to obtain a great following ... However, I advise strongly against taking over a governmental responsibility at this stage. We are not yet sufficiently equipped for this step in the present internal and foreign political situation. Here I advise except the possibility in the event of a war of the creation of a military dictatorship under ... [i.e. 'Wilhelm', i.e. GUDERLIN] which could be prepared without democratic means and merely by skilful planning".

The implication seems clear that NAUMANN was envisaging at least in the event of war, an ultimate seizure of power by a coup d'état using the military leaders as figure-heads. NAUMANN concluded the letter with a request that his proposals should be conveyed to "W", to whom he offered his own assistance and that of his friends, and that he should be informed of "W's" decisions.

49. Towards the end of the year occurred a series of developments which were disastrous for NAUMANN's plans in the ex-servicemen's field. On 28 Nov 51 (source: censorship) von HAUENSCHILD replied to a letter of NAUMANN's (very possibly the draft outlined in para. 48 above) and reported confidentially to him on a visit to GUDERLIN at SCHANGAU. He had found GUDERLIN's health so seriously deteriorated that he was completely incapacitated from activity in politics or the VDS and his life might even be in danger. NAUMANN promptly sent a letter by a courier, ex-SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Richard SCHULZE, former Adjutant to HITLER, to the former Reichsstudentenfuehrer Dr. Gustav Adolf SCHEEL, now employed as a doctor at the RAUTENBERG Hospital in HAMBURG (see paras. 56-58 below), asking that he and the hospital director Professor Heinrich KUNSTMANN (see paras. 56-58 below) should make arrangements for the admission and treatment of GUDERLIN. Although they agreed, the plan did not materialise.

50. Meanwhile, largely as the result of Federal Government influence, FRIESSNER was compelled to resign from the provisional chairmanship of the VDS, which in Jan 52 was

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* Swiss Liberation Movement of Wilhelm TELL

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transformed into the VDS/BvW. The new organization, as the name suggests, came under the control of the former BvW leaders and HILSEN was elected First Chairman. Under this conservative leadership, the VDS/BvW has cautiously refrained from active interference in politics and confined its activities largely to social welfare work. It has thereby lost much of its value to NAUMANN and his friends as an exploitable political vehicle. In the early summer of 1952 NAUMANN's plans suffered a further setback when his own nominee UHLIG suddenly began to adopt a new tone in the 'DSZ' strongly favourable to the Federal Government and the BONN Agreement. His private statements, as reported by a reliable covert source at the time, indicated that he now disagreed with NAUMANN's tactical approach and was prepared (possibly for financial reasons) to support the Government parties for the time being. Although NAUMANN retained loyal associates on the staff of the 'DSZ' in Hans HAGEN (former Ministerialrat in the Propaganda Ministry) and ex-SS Standartenfuehrer Dr. Wilhelm SPENGLER (ex-RSL), he was informed by HAGEN in Sep 52 (source: censorship) that they were encountering constant opposition from the ambitious UHLIG, who had forsaken his former colleagues in the interests of his own personal advancement.

51. In spite of the failure of his attempt to exploit the VDS, NAUMANN and his circle continued during 1952 to neglect no opportunity of extending their contacts in the ex-servicemen's associations as potential sources of political support in future. Their closest collaborators in this field were ex-Generals BOLLBRINKER (see para. 47 above), HILKE (see para. 42 above), Max SCHNEIDER (see para. 60 below) and SCHULZ (not yet definitely identified), all of whom, according to interrogation statements, attended the private conference of the Circle in DUESSELDORF on 1-2 Nov 52 (see para. 60 below). Other military associates of the Circle are listed at Appendix 'C'. With regard to RUCKE and RUDEL, NAUMANN was concerned with restraint rather than encouragement. In his speeches to the Circle at DUESSELDORF and HAMBURG and in various writings, he constantly referred to the damage which in Germany's existing situation was caused to a national revival by such public utterances as RUCKE's violent outburst to the ex-SS rally at VERDEN on 26 Oct 52. In his notes for the DUESSELDORF Conference (impounded documents) he jotted: "Keep an eye on RUCKE. Everyone in his own town. Harass him. RUDEL-KESSELRING". (NOTE: ex-Field Marshal Albert KESSELRING, recently released from BERL Prison and now Honorary President of the Stahlhelm). To RUCKE himself he said: "Next time let us do it a bit more skilfully and I will then be willingly prepared to help you" (source: telephone intercept).

52. NAUMANN and SCHULZ played the "nursemaid" to RUDEL on both his visits to Germany in May 52 and Nov 52-Jan 53. According to a letter from Frau LUCHT to Guy LEMONNIER* dated 29 Nov 52 (impounded documents) NAUMANN prepared a speech to be delivered by "R" (clearly RUDEL from the context) to a meeting of the "Gemeinschaft der Aitterkreuztraeger" (Association of Holders of the Knights' Cross) planned to take place on 24 Nov 52 at BAD HOEFBURG. This plan had been agreed at a conference between NAUMANN and his contacts in PARIS at end Oct 52 (see para. 76 below), when their original choice of speaker had fallen on RUCKE. NAUMANN substituted RUDEL for RUCKE after the latter's faux pas at VERDEN, but the speech was never in fact delivered owing to the cancellation of the meeting. RUDEL spent 12-16 Dec 52 in HAMBURG with SCHULZ and 17-18 Dec 52 with NAUMANN in DUESSELDORF. Immediately before a public meeting of the extreme right-wing splinter-party "Der Deutsche Block (DDB)" in LUEBECK on 15 Dec 52, NAUMANN telephoned RUDEL and strongly advised him to refuse an invitation to the meeting, explaining that, although he did not doubt that RUDEL would achieve a great success, he was sure that he would be misquoted in the foreign press and this would do untold damage to "our cause". "I am anxious lest you should be exploited by this petty group", he added, referring to the DDB, "as in my view you are too good for that. I want to have you for the greater framework and not for a single little affair of this sort". RUDEL duly refused the DDB's invitation at the last moment, as apparently RUCKE had done, also on NAUMANN's advice. At this time also contact was established by NAUMANN, RUCKE and RUDEL with KESSELRING (see para. 51 above) (source: telephone intercepts, confirmed by impounded documents), but little had been achieved in the exploitation of this contact before NAUMANN's arrest on 14 Jan 53.

53. Amongst the impounded documents, especially those of BORNEMANN, were many letters, too numerous to quote, between the NAUMANN Circle and its associates in the military field. One final example of the Circle's efforts to win political influence wherever possible in this field is, however, worthy of mention. In a letter to BORNEMANN dated 19 Nov 52, Hermann BUCH, a South German associate of the Circle (see para. 59 below), wrote that he had come into contact with an ex-Oberst Walther DAHL, former inspector of day fighters and now a leader of the "Association of Former Fighter-Pilots", centred in FREIBURG. "The group needs political guidance", BUCH

/stated ...

* One of NAUMANN's chief French neo-fascist contacts (see para. 71 below).

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stated, adding that he had referred DAHL for liaison to members of his own circle in STUTTGART, HEIDELBERG, MUNICH (names in Appendix 'E' paras. 42, 39 and 46 respectively) and DUESSELDORF (see para. 41 above). BUCH's contact with EDER, a former Adjutant to HILF, was described in para. 24 as "insufficiently active".

"I therefore have an urgent request", BUCH continued. "Please send as soon as possible a reliable man to the former fighter-group commander Georg EDER in FRANKFURT with instructions to sniff around (beriechen) cautiously and then to steer him in the correct political direction. It seems to me that one can win influence over a considerable group (fighter-pilots and holders of the Knights' Cross) through this man. His attitude seems to be reliable from our point of view (in unserem Sinne). The liaison man should report under his own name and with the password 'Luft-Blitz'".

On 28 Dec 52 BORNHEIM wrote to an associate LINDER in FRANKFURT, believed to be identical with Friedrich Wilhelm Karl LINDER, former Deputy Gauleiter of Hessen-Nassau and a Burgomaster of FRANKFURT, expressing his "agreement to the extension of your circle of friends", and requesting him to establish contact with EDER with the password "Luft-Blitz" and to sniff around as desired by BUCH. Contact with the Waffen SS should be established at the same time through one ULRICH, whose address in FRANKFURT BORNHEIM reported (see Appendix 'E' para. 55).

THE INNER CLIQUE IN DUESSELDORF

54. At the time when NAUMANN was devoting his main energies to the attempt to exploit the VDS, he was also beginning to gather his own closed circle of "political personalities of the highest mental and moral qualities" (see para. 47 above). Already before FRÄNKE-CRICKSCH's disappearance in the Russian Zone in Oct 51 he was establishing his influence over several former leading members of the Bruderschaft, of whom the most important were BORNHEIM and Helmut von WEDELSTEIN, former NSDAP Landes-hauptmann in East Prussia and official in the Reich Ministry of the Interior. By the end of 1951 ZIMMERMANN (see para. 21 above) had arrived in DUESSELDORF and joined this clique. He, NAUMANN and BORNHEIM formed in effect a triumvirate controlling the activities of the whole Circle. During 1952 a series of closed meetings ("Stammtisch-abende") were organized by this clique in DUESSELDORF and were attended by, on an average, ten to fifteen personalities, all ex-Nazis of greater or lesser importance. Both SIEPEN and ZIMMERMANN gave useful information on these meetings under interrogation, and, since their statements largely tallied, this information can probably be accepted as reliable.

55. According to SIEPEN, BORNHEIM informed him in mid-1951 of NAUMANN's intention to form a "Stammtisch". NAUMANN told him that he intended to use the "Stammtisch" as a means of training himself in discussion and argument, since he was unable to do so publicly. As members, NAUMANN wanted personalities who were "rooted in the Third Reich" and rejected the existing Federal Government. He also wanted to keep his intentions regarding the "Stammtisch" a secret and on several occasions instructed those present at the meetings to maintain secrecy. According to both SIEPEN and ZIMMERMANN, the first meeting took place at the Hotel Eden in DUESSELDORF at the beginning of Feb 52, and on the second occasion (early Mar 52) it was decided to hold subsequent meetings on the first Wednesday of each month. The organizational details were in the hands of BORNHEIM, who, according to ZIMMERMANN, could be regarded as "No. 3" of the Circle. He (ZIMMERMANN) himself as the oldest member was responsible for "order" and could thus claim to be "No. 2". The position of "No. 1" indisputably belonged to NAUMANN as the policy-maker and strongest and ablest personality. ZIMMERMANN stated that the participants consisted of individuals with one common denominator, namely their similar political background. They met to discuss the numerous current and future problems confronting Germany in the hope of becoming sufficiently well-informed on political trends to be able to give advice to their very extensive range of friends and former colleagues. They thus hoped to become, as it were, a "Rat der Weisen" (Council of Wise Men) for the "Abschatschende". ZIMMERMANN admitted, and indeed proudly proclaimed, under interrogation that the NAUMANN Circle's advice to its associates was based on the belief that the fundamental principles of National Socialism represented the only possible and proper way of serving Germany's best interests.

THE HAMBURG CIRCLE 6

56. It was never NAUMANN's intention to confine his Circle to the inner clique in DUESSELDORF. The "sworn association" or "Fuehrerkorps" was to include similar groups

/of

* For a list of NAUMANN's DUESSELDORF Circle, see Appendix 'C'.

6 For a list of the HAMBURG Circle, see Appendix 'D'.

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of prominent ex-Nazis, who were in many cases well known to him from the days of the Third Reich, in all parts of the Federal Republic. By the time of the arrests on 24 Jan 53, links had already been formed to a number of such groups. The most prominent example in the British zone was the circle of SCHULZ and KUNERT (see para. 19 above) in HAMBURG. KUNERT, a former SS Sanitätsamtsarztmeister, is the director of a chain of nursing-homes in HAMBURG and he employs SCHULZ as an assistant doctor as well as Frau Inge DOMMEL, wife of Grosadmiral Karl DOMMEL (KUNERT's successor, now in SPANISH Caol), as a nursing sister. By 1952 a loose circle of ex-Nazis in HAMBURG had gathered round SCHULZ and KUNERT, who organized political discussion evenings on similar lines to those of KUNERT's U.S.S.R. group. The main difference was that the HAMBURG circle (informally known as the "Kunertklub") lacked any personality with the driving force and singleness of purpose of KUNERT, with the result that its discussion evenings were less concerned with the formulation of a constructive political program than with academic lectures on current world problems. It provided, however, a valuable focal-point for the extension of KUNERT's influence to widespread ex-Nazi elements in North Germany, including figures such as the ex-Gauleiter Karl KUNERT and Alfred Edward ERL MEYER.

57. Our impression of SCHULZ from his interrogations is that of a weaker character than had been previously thought. He knew from intelligence information that he had maintained contact with diverse ex-Nazi personalities in the right-wing political field ever since being himself actively involved in the "Deutscher Volksdienst", a dissident faction of the Bruderschaft in HAMBURG in Summer 1950. Under interrogation he himself admitted contact with some 200 such personalities, but explained, probably with some truth, that the initiative in the maintenance of these political connections seldom came from himself. In contrast to KUNERT, he gave the impression of a man still profoundly influenced by his Nazi past, but lacking the decision and strength of purpose to initiate a new political movement himself. Although he attempted weak evasions and denials of his sympathy with KUNERT's ideas under interrogation, study of numerous telephone conversations during 1952 clearly revealed a similar political outlook, and there can be little doubt that he would have followed where KUNERT led. The same intelligence study (corroborated by interrogation statements) indicated that KUNERT, probably the stronger personality of the two, exerted his influence on SCHULZ to support KUNERT's policy.

58. KUNERT himself evinced more trust in SCHULZ than in any of his other political associates. Impounded correspondence between the two showed that he kept SCHULZ informed on the general lines of his negotiations both with his foreign neo-Nazi contacts and with leaders of the political parties - subjects which he confided to very few others. On the subject of his discussions in Dec 52 with Heinrich KRIE, Chairman of the DFB (see para. 115-117 below), he even asked for SCHULZ's advice, and afterwards wrote to him stating how valuable it had been. Owing to the distance separating them, KUNERT and SCHULZ met on only five or six occasions during 1952, but they exchanged a regular correspondence, sometimes by courier (e.g. in the case of Richard SCHULZ - see para. 29 above) and later using cover-addresses. At KUNERT's suggestion, SCHULZ proposed letters for him to Frau Gerda OBERMANN nee DOMMEL (a "Volke", former secretary to KUNERT and now an employee of the Hotel Eden in DUESSELDORF) (source: interrogation statements of both KUNERT and SCHULZ).

Other Associated Circles and Groups

59. During 1952 KUNERT and BORNHAIN developed connections with a number of other small groups of prominent ex-Nazis as well as many isolated individuals in all three zones of Western Germany, e.g.:

(a) Hermann BUCH's circle in South Germany (see para. 53 above). A letter of BUCH's to BORNHAIN dated 31 Aug 52 (impounded document) referred to an impending journey of KUNERT's to MUNICH. BUCH was arranging for the representatives of three separate South German groups, "Deutscher Reich", "MUNICH" and "SULZ", to meet KUNERT for the purpose of co-ordination of their activities. (NOTE: Members of the group "Deutscher Reich" in North-Rhine/Westphalia were arrested by the Land authorities later in the year. The leader Heinz-Frich REULE & his son of HERFORD published a scurrilous neo-Nazi periodical "Deutschland-Brief" and was also in touch with both KUNERT and BORNHAIN - source: impounded documents). The BUCH circle also apparently includes ex-SS Untersturmführer Hansjörg KUNERT of ERLANGEN and the "DS" editors HOFER and SCHULZ (see para. 50 above). A letter from KUNERT to BORNHAIN dated 19 Jan 52 and a rough note of KUNERT's (both impounded documents) indicate that he was regarded by them as a focal-point for their South German contacts.

/(b) ...

(b) The MUNICH circle of Dr. [redacted] and H. YLKER (ex-State Secretary, FUNK in the Reich Ministry of Economics) and Dr. Theo HUPFNER (former Chief of the central office, Reich Ministry of Armaments and War Production). These two are also in contact with leaders of the BHE in Bavaria. It is not known whether this is the "MUNICH group" referred to by BUCH (see (a) above).

(c) Ex-SS Obersturmbannführer (ID) Dr. Heinrich MLEZ of NUREMBERG, founder of an association of ex-SS and SSIP officials and assistant to the right-wing radical editor of "Die andere Seite", Dr. Rudolf ASCHENBACH. Working in close touch with MLEZ, NAUMANN and BORNEMANN was the archivist Karl-Heinrich PETER of HORN/Neckar (French Zone), the former librarian of the Reichsjugendführung.

(d) Professor Herbert GRUBERT, head of the Forschungshilfe e.V., TUEBINGEN, and protagonist of the denazified university lecturers.

(e) Such prominent ex-Nazis as the former Gauleiters Friedrich Karl FLORLEN (DUESSELDORF), Josef GROEL (DOLLEN-LECHEN) and Paul WEGENER (WESEN-EMS), who were in sporadic contact with various members of the NAUMANN Circle, but whose participation in its activities was not encouraged by NAUMANN, according to SIEPEN, for fear that their seniority would endanger his leadership.

(NOTE: A list of the most important associates of the NAUMANN Circle outside the DUESSELDORF and HAMBURG cliques is included at Appendix 'E').

60. In Nov 52 NAUMANN, through BORNEMANN, summoned representatives of all these groups to the first major conferences of the Circle at DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52) and HAMBURG (18-19 Nov 52). The DUESSELDORF Conference was attended by some forty guests including SCHEEL, KUNSMANN, Dr. Gunnar BERG and Dr. Karl SCHLIERING of the HAMBURG Circle, as well as two Austrian delegates, including Dr. Hans von FREYBORN, member of the Landtag in SALZBURG for the VdU (League of Independents). Short addresses were given by various guests on their own specialist themes, e.g.:

(a) BORNEMANN - introductory address, and later remarks about the necessity to enlarge the scope of the 'BHE' and to keep a card-index of suspected agents of the German governmental and Allied security services.

(b) SIEPEN - a denunciation of the BONN Agreements (the text, with NAUMANN's handwritten amendments, is amongst the impounded documents).

(c) PETER - on the subject of his archives, to which he requested contributions from all present.

(d) Dr. HEINRICH(S?), according to SCHEEL a former official in the Reich Ministry of Education and now, according to SIEPEN, an official of the Federal Ministry of Housing - a legal commentary on the BONN Agreements, non-partisan and, in NAUMANN's view, uninspired.

(e) Professor GRUBERT - a defence of the "persecuted" ex-Nazi high-school teachers.

(f) MLEZ - a review of the US Presidential Elections, with comments on the influence of Jewry in the USA.

(g) von FREYBORN - a statement on the Austrian VdU.

(h) Ex-Staatsrat Wilhelm REINBERG - a short statement on the right-wing political field.

(i) Ex-General LAUSCHKE - an appeal for the unity of the ex-servicemen's associations and for greater political influence for the ex-soldiers.

(NOTE: Source: interrogation statements of SCHEEL, SCHLIERING and NAUMANN).

The main object, however, of both the DUESSELDORF Conference and the later Conference at HAMBURG, where SCHEEL, KUNSMANN and Dr. Heinrich HASELMAYER were the hosts, was clearly to afford NAUMANN the opportunity to make his lengthy speeches on the existing political situation and the policy to be adopted by the Circle. In these speeches and in another whose draft was amongst his impounded documents (it was presumably delivered to a meeting of the "Wednesday Evening Circle" in late Summer or Autumn 1952), NAUMANN disclosed in detail his technique of political subversion. The documents are of great interest as defining a long-term plan which was only in the

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earliest stages of realization when it was disrupted by the British action of 14 Jan 53, a plan which could well be resumed in favourable circumstances at a future date. Although all these speeches are complete and comprehensive statements of policy in themselves, summarised extracts and quotations from them are, for clarity's sake, treated separately in the following paras in accordance with the aspects of the Circle's activities to which they apply.

FOREIGN POLICY TECHNIQUE

61. An anonymous type-written note was found amongst NAUMANN's impounded documents which gives in a nutshell the tactics and ultimate aims of the Circle's foreign policy. It appears to be the comment of a trusted associate (possibly EISENBERG) on the draft of one of NAUMANN's speeches:

"This address is clear and instructive on the significance of the world political situation and its innermost relationships. It tallies completely with the picture which I have formed of the course of events. Our attitude: if no change is possible, then a gradual diversion (Umiegung) of EDC towards the basis of national allied contingents under national leadership. Long-term objective: a great neutral association of all the free peoples outside the two "Internationals" as a real independent third force - later under German leadership, for this group must have a strong core. If the crusade to liberate the Jews in Russia is carried out, then there will be trouble for the Germans".

62. NAUMANN's policy, both internal and foreign, as revealed by his speeches, was always based on a realistic appreciation of what was possible in the existing circumstances. Unlike the majority of ex-Nazi politicians in the extreme right-wing field, he cherished no illusions of bringing about a "Fascist International" or "European New Order" under German leadership in the world situation of 1952. Such objectives might be considered at a time when Germany was once more a united sovereign state, but rarely to refer to them publicly at this stage was to risk a revival of the POISDAM alliance of East and West and of "the MORGENTHAU policy of annihilation of the German state". NAUMANN opened his DUESSELDORF speech with the statement that "Western Germany, in spite of outward appearances, enjoyed no sovereignty whatever.

"Our people, in all important aspects of its existence, is as much as ever dependant on the Victors, who have hitherto not considered handing back their gains of 1945".

Allied agents penetrated every political grouping, and only the disunity of the Victor Powers had prevented them from carrying out their plans to annihilate Germany. The forces that had originated these plans were, however, still powerful, as was demonstrated by recent indications of renewed searches for National Socialist scapegoats ("NS Kopfsjaegerer"). An independent German policy was still impossible, and therefore German leadership in an anti-Communist crusade could not be considered. The foreign policy of Germany must be quiet and inconspicuous in these circumstances ("auf leisen Sohlen gehen"), so that she ceased to form the focal-point of the Cold War.

63. NAUMANN had no sympathy for the Western World in the dangerous situation which its policies had brought on itself:

"We do not need to waste words of despair here on the stupidity of the politicians of the West, who allowed Bolshevism to grow to its present menace, any more than to precipitate war now to a situation in which the so-called Western World is forced completely on to the defensive, while the coloured peoples have everywhere begun their march to Victory ... Twenty years ago HITLER fore-saw this development exactly and attempted to ward it off. Although he may have erred in many individual measures, he recognised the end of the white man's journey as did no other statesman of these times" (DUESSELDORF speech).

NAUMANN considered "the great clash" between East and West to be inevitable, although it might be postponed for many years. "Bolshevism" was determined on world conquest and HITLER's anti-Bolshevist warnings had not been a diversitary manoeuvre. In this situation it was Germany's task to keep East and West disunited and to exploit to the full the fact that she was valuable to both sides.

64. With regard to Germany's integration in the European Defence Community, NAUMANN's formula at DUESSELDORF was:

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"Until the wartime and post-war policies of the Allies are admitted as mistakes and repudiated - which of course can be done most politely and without hurting the feelings of the guilty - we must regard them as crimes. We cannot let ourselves in for such a daring undertaking as the struggle with the East along with criminals".

HAUPTMANN rejected the STRASSBURG concept of European unity, since all the other countries involved were pursuing "national-egoistic" aims.

"Communism can only be defeated by the whole weight of a 'Weltanschauung' such as Fascism or National Socialism", he claimed. "Our work consists in starting again where the right road was formerly abandoned We have already shown ourselves morally and materially capable of withstanding Bolshevism. The old world is in need of reform and its representatives must give way to constructive forces ... Here lies our greatest task. In this sense we must work for the rehabilitation of what we wanted in the past. Since the signs of the times favour us, I think real success is possible".

65. At HAMBURG HAUPTMANN elaborated on these "signs of the times", the most important of which was the swing in American opinion towards a more pro-German policy. There were still influential forces opposing this course, however. HAUPTMANN warned his audience that:

"Without exaggeration three-quarters of American capital can be said to reside in Jewish hands, and this has greatly influenced WASHINGTON's policy under ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN. Whether this will continue under EISENHOWER can only be judged in two years' time".

A disquieting factor was the presence of BRUCH and FRANKFURTER as advisers to EISENHOWER, but the "National forces" amongst the Republicans, headed by TIFT and McCARTHY, were fighting the same battle against "this anonymous power" (International Jewry) as was NEGUB, and as HILDER did before them.

"We must show ourselves sympathetic to these forces", HAUPTMANN advised. "We must say to these people: 'Together with Germany you can still master all the troubles of this world - but with a Germany which is led not by KOGON, HOECHNER and others, but by reliable, stable national forces'... We must show them that such a Germany still exists, although it is not yet to be seen in the parliaments. It consists of the forces which were loyal to the last minute, which fought on although victory no longer seemed possible, which quenched the fires in our cities and rebuilt our homes, which, in spite of every difficulty, are still surprising the world with new technical advances ... Without frightening the outside world as RALPH has done, we must give the national forces in America proof of our strength".

Here was the essence of HAUPTMANN's foreign policy technique - the endeavour to convince the Western world, especially America, that the revival of a National German Reich under the old leadership was really in its own interests.

ATTITUDE TO THE EAST

66. No evidence whatever emerged from the investigations into the HAUPTMANN Circle to support suspicions of secret political connections with the East, any more than it had done from previous study of intelligence information. The one indirect link to a Russian or German Communist agency was the personal contact of FORKMEIER in 1950-51 with the ex-SD agent August MERITE @ ROLF MULLER, who is at present held by the Federal authorities on a charge of espionage for a hostile (East Zone) intelligence agency. A brief summary of this contact is attached separately at Appendix 'A', since it does not directly concern the political conspiracy of the HAUPTMANN Circle.

67. All HAUPTMANN's remarks on the subject of Russia and Communism in both his writings and his speeches indicate clearly that for him they still represented the main

/energy ...

Dr. Eugen KOGON, ex-concentration camp inmate, Chairman of the "Europa Union" movement and author of "SS-Staat".

Dr. Wilhelm HOECHNER, SPD Land Minister of the Interior in Bavaria. Hated by the Nazis for his measures against the NSDAP before 1933 and against right-wing radicalism after 1945.

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empty, and that he regarded negotiations with the East, at least in Germany's currently weak situation, as both pointless and dangerous. In his DUESSELDORF speech he stated:

"Since none of us has pro-Bolshevist aims, we have no need to answer the siren-calls of MOSCOW. The proposed salvation from or together with the West, on the other hand, should cause a stiffening of our attitude. We belong to Europe and not to Asia. Even the incompetent and decadent politicians of the West only represent peoples which have the same roots as we do in history and culture".

In the unidentified speech, he pointed to the futility of FLECKE-CRIEKSCH's attempted discussions with East Zone authorities:

"To imagine that, without any resources, one can join in when FLECKE, MALLENKOV, ZHUKOV and MOLOTOV negotiate over Europe, is political childishness".

68. In the same speech, however, NIMMERN claimed that there were lessons which the Federal Republic could learn from East Germany.

"We should not underestimate what is going on in East Germany", he said. "There is no lack of idealism there, even if most of the ideals are false, if not criminal. The youth is being won over by giving it an objective, training and discipline ... In Western Germany there is no idealism, and this situation will not alter in the future unless fundamental changes in the leadership and treatment of our people take place. The Government in BONN, with all respect due to the qualities of the Chancellor, has never enjoyed the confidence of the people and is therefore no representation of the will of the community. Its appeals fall on deaf ears and are not taken seriously. The politically positive forces stand on one side partly in voluntary, partly in obligatory inactivity".

69. In summary, NIMMERN was opposed to any association of his Circle with East Zone agencies so long as it represented no powerful force in Germany, since he realised that such an association could only lead to Russian exploitation. If ever he achieved his aim of political power in a strong and united Germany, however, he would be likely, for all his hostility to "Bolshevism", to negotiate with the Russians for his own purposes.

FOREIGN CONTACTS

70. The history of NIMMERN's foreign contacts should be viewed in the light of his foreign policy technique, i.e. the exploitation of circles abroad who are sympathetic to the idea of German leadership in Europe. In his HAMBURG speech (13 Nov 52), NIMMERN was able to tell the Circle that, although the time for the proclamation of political programmes had not yet come,

"none the less we are working on them in Germany and also elsewhere in Europe where our friends have rallied to us".

The details of NIMMERN's connections abroad, however, the identity of all his contacts, and especially the plans that they were pursuing, are still not fully known to us, and this aspect can be said to provide the important gap still existing in our knowledge of the NIMMERN Circle's activities. There are two main reasons for this:

- (a) the fact that NIMMERN was the only member of the Circle who was fully informed on the foreign contacts, and he was not prepared to divulge a complete and reliable account of them under interrogation, and
- (b) the fact that NIMMERN's most important meetings with these contacts took place outside Germany, and instructions have precluded an exchange of information between us and French intelligence on the subject.

71. Nevertheless it can be stated that the most important associates of NIMMERN abroad were undoubtedly Sir Oswald MOULRY, the leader of the Union Movement, and a French circle of former collaborationists in PARIS. The two main members of this circle with whom NIMMERN was in regular touch were:

- (a) Guy LEMONNIER, believed to be identical with a former collaborationist who worked for the SD in France in 1944.

/(b) ...

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(b) Georges LEBERTINI, former "Directeur du Cabinet" to Marcel DEAT and now secretary to Emile ROUXE, (ex-?) Secretary-General of the French Radical-Socialist party. (This identification was confirmed by RAUMANN under interrogation).

72. RAUMANN claimed under interrogation that he had known MOSLEY before 1939. Documentary and intelligence information, confirmed by RAUMANN, showed that his first meeting with MOSLEY after the war was in BASLE during the period 2-6 Jun 51. RAUMANN had succeeded in legally obtaining a passport from the German authorities in May 51, and, accompanied by Frau LUCHT, he visited Switzerland (2-6 Jun 51), Italy (6-19 Jun 51) and Austria (19-26 Jun 51) (source: RAUMANN's passport and Frau LUCHT's diary). Others present at the meeting with MOSLEY in BASLE were RUPPEL and FROCKE-GRICKSCH, who was already collaborating with MOSLEY and neo-Fascist circles in other West European countries with a view to forming his "European Brotherhood". RAUMANN took the following notes on the meeting (important documents):

"Discussion in Basle. The first meeting. T. [abbreviation of 'TOULIER', MOSLEY's alias] gives a political world survey, which reached the conclusion that Germany, in exactly the same way as Russia in Bismarck's time brought about the unification of Germany, must create the unification of Europe against three powers. Only Germany can be the starting-point for such a development. Assistance can be expected from France, Germany against DE GAULLE who possesses no political understanding. But a great deal of reasonable good will is at work in the ranks of the Radical-Socialists*. Unfortunately Great Britain can be excluded during the coming years. The upper class must first of all disappear and this is where Labour performs its only positive work. This upper class is decadent, over-intellectual, and, even if physically in excellent condition through sport and tests of courage, morally defective. Even today it still fears Germany more than Bolshevism. It is in no way reliable. The British people will react differently when there is a change in their leadership.

"South Africa and the Argentine are very encouraging developments. Support for the European movement can be obtained from them. Africa will adhere to Europe rather than to Britain. For the native problem is forcing friends and foes of Britain into one front for Europe. And South Africa is Britain's last possession after all the rest are lost or gone over to America.

"Many different elements are at work in America. No one can know who will prevail. War with Russia! T. does not believe that Russia will start it. Our task would be to keep Europe out of a conflict at all costs. Even if there were fighting in GERMANY or in Yugoslavia, we should not participate!!! Successful participation in this conflict is not at present possible. Rather must we be neutral. Such a conflict will perhaps throw France and Germany closer together. In the last we must keep strengthening the impression of our will to peace. These are, however, only pointers for the next few years and no final solution. The moral opposition movement to Sovietism must stem from us. If Europe can no longer throw such a movement into the balance, it is lost whatever happens".

RAUMANN continues with brief notes on further points in MOSLEY's survey, concerning "THERLOT and his paper" (see para. 76 below), "RUPPEL and a training-ground for the German general staff of the European movement" [evidently Argentina is meant], "intrigues round PERON", a meeting in BUEENRICH and "worries about AMUSO" [the ex-Italian Ambassador in BERLIN]. Then, evidently on the subject of his own contribution to the discussion, he notes:

"Situation report on Germany. The profound effect of the National Socialist system. No appeal to the masses. They are ready. Preparation of the leadership class".

(NOTE: No evidence is available on the continuation of RAUMANN's tour in Jun 51 to Italy and Austria with the exception that he stated under interrogation that he met in Austria Prince ROLLAND, an Austrian contact of the LEMONNIER circle in PARIS).

73. RAUMANN's next journey outside Germany was to LUXEMBOURG on 8-9 Dec 51. Although he refused to give information on this under interrogation, it is highly /likely ...

* cf para. 71 above.

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likely that he met MOSLEY again on this occasion, since a card was found in his wallet noting MOSLEY's address in France (1 Rue des Lacs, Orsay, Seine et Oise) and beneath it the entry "9.12. 11 au LUXEMBOURG, hotel NEM". Also in his wallet were:

- (a) a torn leaf from an English diary with the entries "1) London Palace Hotel" and "2) BRUSSELS Atlanta", and
- (b) - in the same English hand as (a) - the address "Claude HEMEL, 4 Rue de la Cure, PARIS 16⁰⁰" and the words "Lieber Jean ... Ihr Nikolaus".

The HEMEL address is also noted in HAUENNN's address-book under "TOMER" (i.e. MOSLEY). HAUENNN's explanation of it under the entry was that Claude HEMEL was the pseudonym of a French politician, a member of the Parisian circle with whom he was in contact. Whether this is true or not, it is very probable that MOSLEY requested HAUENNN to write to him c/o the HEMEL address. It is further probable that it was arranged between the two that HAUENNN should begin his letters to MOSLEY "Dear Jean ..." and should sign them "Nikolaus".

74. .. regular correspondence was maintained throughout 1952 between an Englishman signing himself "Jean" and HAUENNN, and we are in possession, through either censorship or impounded documents or both, of many, if not all, of these letters. (Those from HAUENNN to "Jean" are in the form of unsigned carbon copies). The accumulation of circumstantial evidence identifying "Jean" with MOSLEY, including that quoted in para. 73 above, is so great that it can be regarded as conclusive, especially since an MI 5 check with an expert graphologist confirmed the striking similarity between the handwriting of "Jean's" letters (although written in block capitals) with MOSLEY's. HAUENNN himself made contradictory and evasive statements on the subject under interrogation, but on several occasions admitted by implication the identity of "Jean" with MOSLEY.

75. An equally frequent correspondence was maintained between HAUENNN (or Frau LUCHT writing on his behalf) and LEMONNIER, which showed that the latter also was collaborating closely with MOSLEY ("Jean"). Study of this correspondence and of entries in HAUENNN's passport shows that the following further meetings between HAUENNN and the PARIS circle took place during 1952:

- (a) On 17 Feb 52 at the Taverne du Plaza in BRUSSELS. Present: HAUENNN, Frau LUCHT, LEMONNIER and "Jean".
- (b) 10-12 May 52 in PARIS. Present: HAUENNN, Frau LUCHT, LEMONNIER, "Jean" and "G..." (almost certainly MARTINI).
- (c) 24-29 Oct 52 in PARIS. The same participants were present and discussions held with a number of French politicians. Ex-SS Brigadefuehrer Wilhelm von GROELMANN (alluded by HAUENNN to the acquainted with Paul REYNAUD) accompanied HAUENNN on this visit.
- (d) 3-4 Dec 52 in BRUSSELS. A meeting of HAUENNN and Frau LUCHT with LEMONNIER.

HAUENNN admits having met MOSLEY in PARIS on occasions (b) and (c) above. He also made several short visits to Belgium during 1952, which may have been, at least partially, concerned with business deals on behalf of the firm of LUCHT.

76. Of the above meetings, we have most information on that of 24-29 Oct 52 in PARIS, which seems to have been the most important. The prior arrangements were made by correspondence between LEMONNIER and Frau LUCHT (impounded documents) and it was agreed that the visit should be between 20 and 30 Oct 52 when "our British friend" (presumably MOSLEY) would be in PARIS and before 28 Oct 52 when MARTINI and LEMONNIER were due to depart for Rome. LEMONNIER requested urgently an exact date for the visit so that meetings could be arranged for HAUENNN with "political personalities whom he would be interested in knowing and whom it would be in the interests of us all that he should know". A suggestion of Frau LUCHT's that HAUENNN should meet Professor Maurice BARDECHE, the former collaborationist and author of the pro-Nazi books "Ruhrberg oder das goldene Land" and "Der Weg nach vorne", was rejected by LEMONNIER on the grounds that a meeting in PARIS with BARDECHE would be "contrary to the most elementary prudence". On 20 Oct 52 LEMONNIER informed Frau LUCHT that rooms were reserved at the Hotel ALBASSADOR, 16 Boulevard Haussmann. He added that "one of the most important personalities whom we want the Doctor to meet is leaving Paris on 24 Oct and will be absent on duty for a week", and expressed the wish to take HAUENNN to see this man immediately on his arrival. Afterwards LEMONNIER wrote to HAUENNN on 19 Dec 52 by courier and

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Some articles by Hilde ROCHÉ (see para. 71(b) above) (the articles were not signed). LAMONTAGNE also informed KILLIAN that "the former minister whom you met" present in [presumably BRUXELLES] where he has been invited by P. DULHES.

77. KILLIAN stated under interrogation that MOSLEY and Lady Diana gave a luncheon party for him and ten or twelve other guests, who were high-ranking French politicians, some of whom had recently been in the government of L. FLORE. He refused, however, to divulge their names. It seems likely that Hilde ROCHÉ was his "former minister" referred to by LAMONTAGNE as to the party. A French note concerning KILLIAN's impounded documents contained ROCHÉ's name and the comment "on impression". KILLIAN also claimed under interrogation that during his stay in PARIS he had an interview with a "US diplomat of some standing" and an "ambassador of a foreign power who happened to be travelling through PARIS", but this statement must be considered of very doubtful reliability. (He also alleged that he had received a letter from Senator McCARTHY, but no such letter was found amongst his documents).

78. The correspondence between "Jean" and KILLIAN was couched in cryptic and conspiratorial terms, but it was evident that it mainly concerned the financing of the neo-fascist monthly "Nation Europa", edited by Arthur HERRLITZ at COLOGNE. It was already known from MI 5 information that MOSLEY was responsible for financing this publication, and it appeared from the correspondence that KILLIAN sometimes acted as intermediary for conveying the funds to HERRLITZ (a receipt for DM. 4,570 was found amongst his documents) and was also responsible for guiding its editorial policy. The publication has contained such month articles contributed by well-known neo-fascists and ex-collaborationists in many West European countries, and its general line has always been towards a vindication of the Axis cause in the war and advocacy of a European "New Order" under German leadership. HERRLITZ, however, was not amenable to guidance, and on 6 Nov 52 MOSLEY ("Jean") sent him an ultimatum stating that the funds could only be assembled in Germany and sent monthly and that no more would be available until HERRLITZ had fulfilled his contract to furnish a campaign. At the end of the month MOSLEY sent the secretary of the Union Movement, in LeVEN THOMSON, to Germany to clear up the matter. After calling on KILLIAN at DUESSELDORF on 1 Dec 52, he visited HERRLITZ at COLOGNE, but, after a quarrel, HERRLITZ broke off the discussions. (Source: impounded letter from THOMSON to KILLIAN). KILLIAN commented in a letter to Source dated 15 Dec 52 that "with this, huge funds and even more confidence are lost to our cause". MOSLEY ("Jean") then wrote to KILLIAN asking him to arrange for a lawyer to defend "Jean's" interest (the term used by them for the anonymous controllers of the fund for "Nation Europa") against HERRLITZ, and gave him the details of the original contract with the latter. Evidently "Jean's" interest undertook to supply DM. 43,000 as capital on condition that HERRLITZ would hand over "Nation Europa" at any time on demand. Of this sum, DM. 38,000 had already been transmitted to HERRLITZ during the previous two years. To what extent KILLIAN himself profited from MOSLEY's funds has not been clarified; all that is known is that he owed MOSLEY a small debt of DM. 1,800 at New Year 1953. At this stage of his political activity, he had little need for such financial backing and was mainly concerned that funds should be available for suitable pro-Nazi propaganda such as that of "Nation Europa". Nevertheless KILLIAN found it necessary to thank MOSLEY ("Jean") at Christmas 1952 "for the valuable suggestions and great assistance which my friends and I always obtained from you during the past year".

(Note: It is not known whether the term "Jean's" interest was used to cover any individuals other than MOSLEY, but it is possible that it concerned certain of his publishing associates on the Continent, such as Dr. Hans OHLER of ZUERICH, former leader of the Swiss Fascist Party, whom KILLIAN admitted knowing).

79. Dr. Ernst OHLER, until recently Chairman of the MD Foreign Affairs Committee, was also in touch with the PARIS circle, and was in PARIS at the time of KILLIAN's visit in Oct 52. It is not known whether he was present at KILLIAN's discussions with the French politicians, but a guarded telephone conversation of 4 Nov 52 between the two implied that OHLER had recently interviewed KILLIAN to an important person who had been well-impressed by him. It is in any case likely that OHLER made available to KILLIAN the wide circle of French acquaintances he has formed since MOSLEY's staff during the war. On 29 Nov 52 LAMONTAGNE sent KILLIAN a copy of a French report on the KILLIAN Circle which had been reprinted in a private French information service and requested him for data with which to refute the accusations. He also informed KILLIAN that LAMONTAGNE had written in the same sense to OHLER. (Impounded documents confirmed by telephone intercepts and by KILLIAN).

80. Only a few days after KILLIAN's arrival on 14 Jan 53, Mr. J. L. LEE, a MORRIS solicitor of the firm of LEE and PETERSON, telephoned OHLER, now KILLIAN's defence counsel (until May 53), offering his assistance, and stating that he had been

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instructed to do so by "you know whom". There could be little doubt that MOSLEY was meant, and that GOERLING clearly understood the inference. The PARIS circle continued to keep in clandestine contact with Frau LUCHT and AGOSTINI, and on 25 Jan 53 a M. DUHLEL visited them both in DUESSELDORF on the instructions of LEHMANN (source: telephone intercept). DUHLEL is probably identical with Karvan DUHLEL, a member of the LEHMANN circle, recently in postal contact with Frau LUCHT from STUTTGART and HELSINKI (source: censorship). Finally, on 25 Feb 53 Frau LUCHT wrote to KAUJANN in prison at ERL, stating that "my cousin Diana and her husband Jean have, from the beginning, been very nice and helpful to me" (yet another clue to the identity of "Jean" with MOSLEY, Diana being his wife's name).

81. KAUJANN and BORNEHAIN were in contact with a number of foreign sympathisers other than the MOSLEY/PARIS circle (the most important of whom are listed at Appendix 'H'), but in no other case is there evidence of such close and far-reaching co-operation. ZIEGLER also, who in May 52 visited Egypt on behalf of his employers, the Wirtschaftsvereinigung Eisen und Stahl, developed business associations with important personalities, both Egyptian and German, which the KAUJANN Circle hoped to exploit for political purposes, e.g. Dr. Wilhelm VOSS (former Director-General of the Hermann GOERLING Works and President of the SKODA Works and now leader of an unofficial German advisory mission in Cairo), Prince Abbas HILMI, Dr. Ahmad ASFOUR, Ahmad ISMAIL (President of the Egyptian Labour Party), Colonel OMAR etc. There is evidence that sympathies were not lacking in these quarters for the German nationalist aims of the Circle. OMAR had private discussions with KAUJANN, BORNEHAIN and ZIEGLER on a visit to Germany in autumn 1952 (source: telephone intercepts), and ISMAIL contributed an article to BORNEHAIN's 'KEI' denouncing the Federal German/Israeli reparations agreement. KAUJANN's long-term objective was clearly to gain the support of German sympathisers in Arab States of the Middle East for the European Third Force plan.

82. Amongst KAUJANN and BORNEHAIN's close contacts abroad were members of the Nazi émigré colonies in Spain, South America and the Middle East, e.g. SKRZYSKI, RUDEL, Eberhard FRITSCH (owner of the outspokenly pro-Nazi DUENER Verlag - publishing house - in BUENOS AIRES), Johannes von LERS etc. (see Appendix 'H'). Although an exchange of political views between KAUJANN and these circles was frequent and harmonious, the stage had not yet been reached by Jan 53 when it could be said that the political activities of these groups were being centrally directed by the KAUJANN Circle. So long as KAUJANN was still determined to remain in the background and postpone his intention to appeal to the German masses, his plans had not yet progressed so far as to direct the activities of Germans abroad. The most that can be said is that he could expect whole-hearted support from many of these émigrés, whenever in the future he decided to enter the open political arena.

83. Nor is there any evidence to support recent press statements of financial support of the KAUJANN Circle from abroad, e.g. from the former Belgian fascist leader Léon DEGRELLE, apart from KAUJANN's connection with MOSLEY's fund for "Nation Europa" (reported in para. 78 above). There is in fact no evidence of any post-war association between KAUJANN and DEGRELLE, whom he regarded as "a swindler" (his own statement confirmed by his impounded notes).

PROPAGANDIST ACTIVITIES

84. The impounded documents confirmed the previous Intelligence conclusion that one of the main activities of the KAUJANN Circle in 1952 (the period of the "Sammlung der Kräfte" - rallying of the forces - and of the preparation of the ground for future open activity) was the encouragement of every type of propaganda vindicating the Third Reich and German nationalism in general. This was done through:

- (a) the publication of anonymous articles by KAUJANN in the 'KEI', "Nation Europa", "Der Tag" (published by the DUENER Verlag - see para. 82 above), "Das Gewissen" (Deutsche Union) and other suitable nationalist papers. The form and tone of these articles has already been described (paras. 53-54 above). During 1952 KAUJANN continued to contribute most of, if not all, the leading political articles and commentaries on current events in the 'KEI', his main mouthpiece, in spite of the fact that BORNEHAIN was forbidden by the Minister of the Interior in Land North-Rhine/Westphalia to publish the paper on account of certain of KAUJANN's more outspoken earlier articles. BORNEHAIN easily circumvented this ban by continuing to publish the 'KEI' under his father's name - an episode which sufficiently illustrates the ineffectuality of German governmental reaction to the KAUJANN technique.
- (b) The development of the many connections in the publishing world available to the Circle through BORNEHAIN's contacts and KAUJANN's former colleagues and

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subordinates in the Propaganda Ministry. (Dr. Hermann GÖTTSCHEW, until recently FDP editor of the "Hamburger Nachrichten" and close friend of BORNEHANN, is one example of many).

- (c) The advertisement in the "KRI" and other friendly papers of pre-Nazi literature brought out by the Circle's associates in the publishing world, notably Kurt VO INCKEL, chief editor of "Geopolitik" and director of the VO INCKEL Verlag (HEIDELBERG), publisher SCHULZ of the PLEIN Verlag (GÖTTINGEN) and FRITSCHE of the DEER Verlag, and the private sale of such literature in potentially sympathetic and influential quarters by members of the Circle. The best example of this was in the case of "Auch Du warst dabei", by Dr. Bruno Peter KLEIST (formerly REEBENTROP's emissary in MOSCOW), a lengthy apologia for the Third Reich, designed to demonstrate that Germany's opponents were largely guilty of responsibility for the two world wars. (Other examples of this pre-Nazi literature are listed at Appendix 'E').
- (d) The organisation of public lectures by well-known "non-political" personalities, who were in fact sympathetic to the ideas of the Circle, on behalf of an overt society sponsored by BORNEHANN known as the "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur" (Society for History and Culture). In Dec 52, SCHULZ was starting the formation of an equivalent society in HAMBURG, which should "compete with the British-sponsored 'Die Bruecke' as a cultural centre more in the tradition of pure German culture" (source: telephone intercepts).

85. BORNEHANN gave an account of the raison d'être of his society as early as 7 Feb 51 in a letter to ex-SS Sturmbannführer Ernst GUERENBERG, at that time leader of the Bruderschaft in DORTMUND, (impounded documents):

"I hold the view", he wrote, "that at this stage we have no possibility of exerting a public influence, in the sense that suits us, through a reasonable political party, and for this reason we have founded in several towns 'Gesellschaften fuer Geschichte und Politik' / the early name for the society / whose main task is to provide a platform for important personalities whose ideas and influence we wish to support. The Society must outwardly have no pre-determined political objective, and must confine its activities to public lectures".

86. The first lectures were given by Dr. Hans GRILL, the Nazi author of "Volk ohne Raum" and "Die Erzbischofsschrift", and were followed by such men as ex-General Karl Georg SCHUBERT, Bruno BAUM, former Nazi author, and Reinhold SCHULZ, former head of the foreign department of the Reichsjugendfuehrung and Cultural Attaché at the German Embassy in TOKYO. By autumn 1952 branches of the Society had been established in COLOGNE, BONN, DUESELDORF/Ruhr, KÖLN, SÖLINGEN and other towns in the Ruhr, and the Circle organised a major lecture tour for KLEIST on the subject of "Auch Du warst dabei". Great efforts were made to interest influential circles in the tour, and BORNEHANN attempted to obtain the attendance of leading EHE and FDP functionaries through Werner TRUMPF (former SS Sturmbannführer and official of the Reichsjugendfuehrung and now a member of the EHE and of KLEIST's intimate clique in DUESSELDORF) and GRUB (fnu) (local chairman of the FDP in DUESSELDORF) respectively. In his letter to TRUMPF dated 30 Sep 52 (impounded documents) he wrote:

"Would it not be possible to get the functionary corps of the EHE to attend, for these people cannot but learn there?"

87. KLEIST's lecture tour was also made the occasion for a drive to sell his book. In his DUESSELDORF speech, HANSMANN, after explaining the arguments against participation in overt politics, claimed:

"We are, however, by no means inactive, as this conference alone proves. We take every opportunity of propagating our views in all circles with whom we have contact; for example one of our friends / GIERHARDT / has already distributed over forty copies of KLEIST's book in circles of the steel industry".

At HAMBURG a fortnight later, HANSMANN referred to the object of his propaganda drive:

"Our task is to work on the rehabilitation of our name, to refute the lies, give point to our argument and expose the real culprits".

/In ...

* NOTE: our underlining.

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progress was being made, he continued, and cited the good sale of KLEIST's book and similar pro-Nazi literature.

88. The impounded documents indicate that NAUMANN was planning at the time of his arrest an extension of the Circle's propagandist activities. BORNHANN's 'KBI' were to have been widened in scope and improved in form, and an amalgamation with SCHEEN-MAIER's 'Die andere Seite' was under consideration. For this purpose MAIZ was to have moved to the DUESSELDORF area in order to work with BORNHANN under NAUMANN's guidance, and they were also to have been joined by PETER together with his 'archives' of political background information. A further plan for a new political periodical (a 'nationalist weekly') had been worked out by VO INCKEL and KLEIST, and the draft was sent to NAUMANN by VO INCKEL on 22 Dec 52 for his consideration. There is little doubt that it would have appealed to NAUMANN as the following extracts from the draft show:

"Object: The paper has the object (a) of developing and realising the basic principles of an independent* German policy, (b) of viewing the problems of the German people's existence on a high plane, but in clear and understandable language, and (c) of helping to overcome the dangerous situation in home, foreign, economic and cultural affairs, which today threatens German development as the result of the annihilation policy of 1945.

"Circle of subscribers: The appeal should be made to those who have not yet made their voice heard in politics, i.e. (a) those circles who are standing aside in disappointment or bitterness (denazified, demilitarised, pensions claimants, refugees, ex-... etc.), (b) the youth, who recognise the absurdities of present official policy and keep clear of the intrigues of the licensed parties, and (c) broad sections of the middle and lower classes who have hitherto either voted for the BONN coalition parties or the SPD only with reluctance and 'in order to avoid worse' or else have not participated".

On the subject of foreign affairs, the draft advocated a purely German policy independent of East and West, the rejection of the "BONN Subjection Agreements", and "collaboration with all other independent forces in the world - whether they be nations or states or factions within nations and states".

"To Germany", it continued, "belongs today almost inevitably a claim to moral leadership, which cannot be claimed by the remainder of the world, because it is embroiled in a fruitless anti-fascism, which either grew out of a pro-Bolshevist outlook or else developed into one".

On home affairs, the draft opened with the following preamble:

"Present West German policy attempts to found itself on the basis of exerting pressure on the conscience of the mass of the German people arising out of the personal conscience of a handful of resistance-fighters. - Oath-breaking, desertion, treason, sabotage and assistance for the enemy are no foundations for reconstruction. Respect for the motives of the few real resistance-fighters necessitates equal respect for the motives of the vast majority of Germans who did their duty in loyalty and self-sacrifice. Respect for both, however, means contempt for all German lackeys of the annihilation policy of the Great Alliance of East and West, both during and after the War".

The draft proceeded to demand the expulsion of these "profiteers and supporters of the defeat" from the leadership of the country, the reconstruction of a "real people's community", an "authoritarian democracy", electoral reform and the re-establishment of the Reich.

CONTACT WITH THE RIGHT-WING NATIONALIST PARTIES

89. The NAUMANN Circle, including the SCHEEL/KUNSTHANN group in ILLBURG, maintained regular contact with the leaders of almost every extreme right-wing party and grouping in Western Germany during 1952. Much correspondence from these leaders was found amongst the impounded documents, especially those of BORNHANN. This correspondence, together with NAUMANN's speeches and the interrogations, confirmed that the main initiative for the contact came from the overt political leaders, who assiduously courted NAUMANN and SCHEEL in order to win their support for their own grouping, usually with the plea that it was to become the rallying-point for a major Nationalist

/Opposition ...

* NOTE: underlining in original German.

Opposition movement. Particular elements for HUBER's backing in 1952 were the leaders of an attempted "German Association of National Groups (ANG)", GRIESBACH of the Deutsche Union (see paras. 19 and 21 above), ex-SS Brigadefuehrer and NJ Gebietsfuehrer Dr. Karl GREF, ex-SS Brigadefuehrer Fritz KRELL and Wilhelm KIEFER (veteran of the KAP Putsch). After these persons had held discussions with HUBER in Sep 52, GRIESBACH wrote to him proposing that he (GRIESBACH) and his friends should act as the planning "General Staff" of a national opposition movement, with GRIESBACH and the other overt right-wing leaders in the role of "the front-line campaigners similar to the 'alte Kaempfer' of the NSDAP". Both GRIESBACH and KIEFER assured HUBER that wherever he led they and their supporters would follow (source: censorship).

90. Meanwhile the ANG's rivals, August HILDEBRAND of the Deutsche Gemeinschaft and his associates, were endeavouring to secure the support of SCHULZ, FLEUENFELD and other ex-Nazi leaders in its ranks. SCHULZ and HILDEBRAND consulted each other on both these approaches and were in agreement that neither grouping offered prospects of a major success. Too close an association with them would, therefore, only compromise their own future political prospects. HILDEBRAND summarised this attitude in his DUESSELDORF speech, when he warned his listeners against participation in splinter-groups:

"none of which we can join unconditionally and without misgivings ... The failure of one of these groups affects us all, even without our participation in it ... The great objective must not be endangered for the sake of a momentary success. The failure of hastily improvised national front would cause great harm for the future. Disappointed people would finally withdraw from politics, and our opponents would prematurely light on the plan ... We must therefore urge caution on the various active groups, but of course follow their efforts with sympathy and never cause them difficulties, so long as they are serving the common cause".

The very disunity of "the HILDEBRANDS and HILDEBRANDS" (Hil HILDEBRAND, chairman of Der Deutsche Block), HILDEBRAND claimed, was proof that they had no agreed policy to offer to the former following of HITLER's.

"They do not need to start forming a movement", he added; "it has already been created by a greater man before them,.... but the availability of a following amongst the population does not excuse one from political responsibility. A corps of leaders (Fuehrerkorps) is necessary and first-class technical elements, all united by a tried discipline, which prevents division into splinter-groups. Work on the moral level must today take precedence over mass-meetings ... The SPD lacks not voters but real personalities for whom to vote".

It would be perfectly possible, HILDEBRAND concluded, to constitute a political party out of all these national forces which, under good leadership (as opposed to the SPD), might obtain 20% of the votes at the next elections, but the necessary sympathy abroad would be lacking.

"We would be blamed for the troubles and strife which our opponents would then start", HILDEBRAND explained, "especially if this coincided with an economic crisis in the Federal Republic. The Bonn System would thereby be able to excuse itself and blame us for what we had never caused".

91. The extreme right-wing party in which HILDEBRAND placed most hopes was characteristically the most "respectable" and least discredited of them, namely the Deutsche Reichs-Partei (DRP), and he was frequently in touch with several of its leading functionaries, notably the current deputy Ernst von THIEDEL and HILDEBRAND's own former subordinate in the Propaganda Ministry Johannes HERTTEL, DRP Kreis Chairman in NIENBURG (Lower Saxony) and member of the DRP Federal executive. HERTTEL requested HILDEBRAND, with the authority of the party leaders, for a policy consultation prior to a meeting of the executive in Jan 53, and also stated that he (HERTTEL) would be in a position to exert a great influence on the party's future electoral programme (impondued documents).

92. In his NIENBURG speech, HILDEBRAND suggested that "one of the many possibilities" for the Circle's policy towards the Bundestag Elections of 1953 was to support the DRP.

"The next Bundestag", he explained, "will only be a transitional parliament, I hope the last, and therefore we can only find an interim solution for our votes".

Those who were merely concerned with keeping the SPD out should vote FDP, but those who wanted more, "e.g. to see a small circle of us as a spearhead into the new Bundestag", should assist an already existing group, the DRP, and, if possible after having its name changed to a "List of Independents", should put forward "our friends" as candidates on /this ...

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this list. Names should be collected of "respected and independent" personalities as potential candidates. [This is a good example of NAUMANN's technique of exploitation of an existing political party for his own future purposes].

INFILTRATION OF THE MODERATE RIGHT-WING PARTIES

(a) General

93. The impression gained from study of the impounded documents and interrogations is that the infiltration of the moderate right-wing parties was less the main object of the NAUMANN Circle's activities than an incidental aspect of them. Within the framework of his general aim to gain political influence whenever and wherever possible, NAUMANN was glad to take advantage of the increasing competition amongst these parties, notably the FDP, Dr and BHE, to win the electoral support of the "absentsstehende", especially the ex-Nazis. This situation enabled him, as a man known to have influence over widespread circles of ex-Nazis hitherto not involved in party-political activity, to recommend some of his own followers for important positions in the "respectable" parties, through them to exert an indirect influence on the policy of such parties, and himself to bargain with leading party functionaries in the interests of the ex-Nazis. This was especially important in the case of the FDP, the second largest party in the Federal Government coalition, since NAUMANN's contact with its functionaries was also leading him to contact with governmental officials, who could be highly useful in averting or impeding possible executive action against the Circle.

Nevertheless NAUMANN's speeches show that, while these "respectable" parties had their temporary uses for him, he was always sceptical of being able to win sufficient control of them to turn them into the political instrument he desired. In his HAMBURG speech he reviewed the parties competing in the 1953 Federal Elections, and rejected the CDU and SPD as having, much in common in both being "licensed parties" installed by the victors. They had put themselves out of court by acquiescing in or supporting the NUREMBERG executions, demasification and dismantling and by recognising German war-guilt. The FDP, Dr and BHE, however, were worth consideration. They presented an unhomogeneous and changeable picture.

"Many former comrades of ours", NAUMANN continued, "are active in these parties, some of them attracted by considerable salaries, and they always stress in their conversations that they are on the best way to conquer these organisations from within. Whether one can in the end transform a liberal party [i.e. the FDP] into a National Socialist fighting force and whether one can serve the interests of Greater Germany (grossdeutsch handeln) with a federalist association [i.e. the FRG] I have my doubts. We must, however, let the attempt be made. In the political scene of our transitional period, parties of this sort must be regarded with an entirely positive judgment. They compel, merely by their presence, their rivals in the Bundestag to make concessions and to take measures which please us all, e.g. Section 131 [pensions law for former state servants], the end of demasification courts etc. etc. If there were no FDP, one would have to be founded today".

(NOTE: One of NAUMANN's notes for the DUISBURG Conference, "FBI necessary just as STRESEMANN was", further elucidates his thought here).

NAUMANN then referred to the efforts of all parties to tap the voting reservoir of ex-Nazis at the next elections. The local elections of 9 Nov 52 had, however, shown their failure. "The Land Branch of the FDP in North-Rhine/Westphalia which is so thoroughly permeated with National Socialists" could not improve on its success of 1950. It remained a party of 12-14%. One of the reasons for this, NAUMANN explained, was that the diverse forces of the old NSDAP had been held together by a strong hand only until 1 May 45, after which they went their separate ways.

"The unifying bond will only be able to resume its function when the signal to rally is given by a group of political leaders representing a recognised authority - even if one no longer quite so strong as in the old days because that is not possible. We are participating in this work which is beginning to show its first successes; but it requires more time than remains to us before the next elections, for the difficulties which confront us are enormous. We must face this fact quite soberly and it is not so tragic if we do not ourselves make an active appearance in the next elections, but exert our influence on this temporary episode in another way".

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(b) The Deutsche Partei

95. The connections of the NAUMANN Circle with the DP were confined to one or two individual and occasional contacts, e.g., with the member of the DP Federal Executive, Dr. Albert D. ALCHENSTEL, LCHEN's predecessor as Reichstudentenführer. BOHNEANN also maintained touch with the DP Kreis branch in DUISBURG on the subject of the "rally of all national forces" (impeached documents). The tenuous nature of the Circle's links to the DP were due to the fact that they had little in common with the conservative and federalist elements which dominate the party in its stronghold in Lower Saxony. In criticizing the National Rally appeals of the North Rhine/Westphalian FDP, NAUMANN stated in his speech at DUISBURG that it was wrong to speak of "all forces to the right of the CDU".

"We have nothing whatever to do with the Bavarian Party and the Guelphs [DP federalists]," he added. "Nor is the term 'right' a correct one. Our political mission is to unite Nationalism with Socialism". [NAUMANN's implication: "It still is."]

Attention is also drawn to NAUMANN's remarks on a "Federalist disposition" in his DUISBURG speech (para. 94 above).

(c) The FDP

96. Proportionately less additional information was obtained on the NAUMANN Circle's infiltration of the FDP from the impeached documents and interrogations than on any other aspect of its activities. There are two main reasons for this:

- (a) NAUMANN retained largely in his own hands control of the Circle's relations with personalities of the FDP, at least in North-Rhine/Westphalia (with whom these relations were closest), and on this subject he was not prepared to give full or reliable information under interrogation.
- (b) There was no need for NAUMANN to carry on a correspondence with his associates in the North-Rhine/Westphalian FDP, since he was able to meet them in person so frequently. The result is that most of our information on the subject still derives from the array of numerous telephone intercepts.

Nevertheless the investigations yielded sufficient information in combination of previous material from intelligence sources to compel the FDP Federal Executive to establish a committee of enquiry into the alleged undermining of the party in North-Rhine/Westphalia and to expel certain individuals as a result of the committee's findings. The case was in fact sufficiently embarrassing to the FDP to cause a major party crisis, which is even now probably only temporarily resolved until after the upcoming elections.

97. NAUMANN's diary shows that his thoughts were directed toward the possibility of undermining the FDP, at least in North-Rhine/Westphalia, at a very early stage in the resumption of his political activity. According to an entry in the diary, he and his LUCIE were visited on 26 Jan. 50 by Dr. Ernst AGNEBACH and his friend Heinz GEMDT, a former NS-Pflichter and now a functionary of the FDP in DUISBURG. AGNEBACH was at the time (and still is) lawyer to the firm of AGC, but he had also achieved the influential political post of Chairman of the FDP Federal Foreign Affairs Committee. His political background was and remains dubious. As an official of the German Embassy in PARIS before the war, he had joined the Nazis, and after the French capitulation he remained his post at VICHY on AGNEBACH's staff. Although he claims to have been withdrawn from the post in 1943 on account of his pro-French attitude and to have been dismissed from the Foreign Office in Autumn 1944 because of his American-born wife, he admits having had a close friendship with Pierre Laval. Since the war he had been a defending counsel at NUREMBERG, and afterwards devoted his main efforts to a campaign on behalf of the war criminals, later becoming Chairman of the Committee for a General Amnesty. In his entry of 26 Jan. 50, NAUMANN noted that AGNEBACH agreed to represent his identification interests, and then the conversation turned to politics. AGNEBACH's observation that AGC was not the worst relation for "us" in the present situation found NAUMANN's agreement.

"A people in this situation", NAUMANN noted, "without national sovereignty, governed by High Commissioners, under puppets (Strohmänner). To enable the National Socialists to exert an influence on political developments in spite of these circumstances they should enter the FDP, undermine it, and

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take over its leadership. Any individual example is not easy to explain. With only 400 members it can take over the whole Land executive committee. He wants to employ me as general secretary! He is so serious about his offer that he finally indicated that either he accept and support him or he will retire completely from politics".

Both AGNEBACH and SCHIEDT (each we know from recent telephone intercepts to have been collaborating closely in the campaign to discredit the British action of January 1953) claimed to the FDP committee of enquiry that HALLER had misrepresented and distorted this part of their conversation in his diary. They admitted, however, that his account of the remainder of the conversation was entirely accurate, and there seems little reason to believe that the above passage was a falsification, more especially as AGNEBACH has, since 1950, been a leading protagonist of the FDP right-wing's policy of admitting ex-Nazis to the party.

98. From Aug 50 until the end of 1951, little information is available on connections between NAUMANN and FDP personalities, but during this period more and more ex-Nazis, especially ex-HJ leaders, took over functions in the party machines in both North-Rhine/Westphalia and Lower Saxony. Typical examples were Wolfgang BOERIG and ex-HJ Gebietsfuehrer Siegfried ZOGNER (respectively FDP Land Secretary and chief editor of the strongly nationalist FDP weekly "Die Deutsche Zukunft" in North-Rhine/Westphalia), who were reported by a reliable source in early 1951 to have attended a Bruderschaft meeting in BIELEFELD and to have stated privately at the meeting that they had joined a recognised democratic party merely because they considered that this was the best means by which the ex-Nazis could return to power (cf. SCHIEDT's remarks on our many former comrades in the FDP in his HILFUNG speech - para. 9, above). In Lower Saxony the most notable example was ex-HJ Gebietsfuehrer Horst HUISSCH, the party secretary, under whose influence the Lower Saxon FDP led by its Land Chairman, Artur SEIGER, pursued an increasingly nationalist policy independent of the party's federal executive in Bonn. The findings of the party committee of enquiry was that this trend in North-Rhine/Westphalia was particularly sponsored by AGNEBACH and ex-HJ Fuehrer Horst WILKE, secretary of the Landtag fraction (killed in a motor accident in Dec 52), exploiting their influence over the Land Chairman, Dr. Friedrich WIDDELHAUVE.

99. The increasing tendency of the "respectable" right-wing parties to attempt to reactivate leading ex-Nazis in politics at this time, thereby providing a field for NAUMANN's exploitation, was also demonstrated by the political meetings at ALREBERG (Rhineland) organised by Gerd SPIDLER, the HILDESMANNSFABRIK manufacturer and owner of the ultra-nationalist weekly "Der Fortschritt", in autumn 1951. SPIDLER of the BND and later one of NAUMANN's intimate cliques (see para. 86 above) invited his close friend SCHIEDT to one of these meetings on 17/18 Sept 51 (source: conscription). He added that invitations had been sent to a variety of influential individuals in the FDP (AGNEBACH and ZOGNER), Dr. (ex-NAZI) Landesgruppenleiter in Italy Dr. Emil EHRICH, EHL (Dr. Alfred GILLE and Dr. Walter ECKHART), LU (GRITZNER and BRUNN) and several former prominent figures in the military and diplomatic fields (including the former ambassador to the Fascist Italian Republic, Dr. Rudolf RAHN, an intimate friend of AGNEBACH). Specially selected journalists and Federal Government officials were also invited, one of whom, Dr. KRAUSE, attended the meeting on the instructions of his minister, Dr. LEHR, Federal Minister of the Interior (according to a recent letter from LEHR to the UK High Commissioner). The representatives of the Nazi Regime who were invited were SCHIEDT, AXMAN and Hans-Joachim RIEDEL, former State-Secretary in the Ministry for the Eastern Occupied Territories. SPIDLER invited SCHIEDT to have a private conversation before the meeting with NAUMANN and himself on the subject of Wilhelm GILKE, a close associate of BORNHAGEN and now general secretary of the "Deutschschwarze" (German Black) society for military research). SPIDLER stated that he had assured AXMAN that the guests had all been carefully selected with regard to their attitude and preparation for "new policies".

100. A valuable appointment for NAUMANN's purposes was that of his former subordinate, ex-SS Standartenfuhrer Wolfgang DIEMER, a former leading Nazi speaker and author and head of the propaganda division of the propaganda Ministry, as personal assistant and confidential adviser to WIDDELHAUVE. The FDP committee of enquiry found that this appointment was brought about through the influence of AGNEBACH and Professor Friedrich GRIE (now defence counsel to HALLER). Documentary evidence from NAUMANN's engagement calendar and other sources confirms the approximation from many telephone intercepts that DIEMER maintained the closest touch with NAUMANN from late 1951 until 14 Jan 53 (when he was to visit him at a time only a few minutes after NAUMANN's arrest). They spoke over the telephone in disguised tones, using place-names for individuals, e.g. "Herr GILKE" for DIEMER. The latter kept NAUMANN fully informed of internal FDP developments and supplied him with party literature including the

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"Kriegsangehörigen" (war veterans) for party speakers. It is clear that, through DITZ, MÜLLER was able to exert an influence on the policy of MIDDLEHOVE and the dominant right-wing group in the FDP. MÜLLER's hand was further strengthened when DITZ, in 1951, recommended MIDDLEHOVE to employ as second person in charge of the party's propaganda Heinrich DITZKE (former defence counsel of the Reichsmarine, MIDDLEHOVE had recommended to DITZKE in 1944) (source: telephone intercepts, confirmed by the findings of the FDP committee of enquiry).

101. The opinions of several functionaries of the FDP in DUESSELDORF when questioned by the party committee of enquiry, together with the indirect documentary evidence, make it difficult to assess the extent of MÜLLER's influence in that office. MÜLLER denied all contact with him, although he was evidently well-informed on him (he described MÜLLER as a British political officer before the action of Jan 53 as an "ice-cold calculator" and "reactionary"), and DITZKE admitted only one meeting with him. It has been established, however, that at least indirect contact existed between them and MÜLLER through two junior functionaries of the FDP Land Office, viz. Dr. Walter BRÄUER, former assistant to General MÜLLER (leader of the German German NSDAP) and in 1951 to MÜLLER (see above), and Karl BREWER, member of the editorial staff of "Die Deutsche Zukunft" and a former junior official of the Propaganda Ministry (previously incorrectly identified with Dr. Heinz BREWER, former Ministerialdirektor for Music in the Propaganda Ministry, whose name also was found in MÜLLER's address book). BREWER informed MÜLLER in Jan 53 of the coming foundation of "Die Deutsche Zukunft" in the following month, and, in response to his request, MÜLLER recommended the former colleague in the Propaganda Ministry, Albert ULLS (ex-Gaupropagandaleiter of Buxtehude-Bassendamm) and Dr. Josef HILFING for employment with the paper. BREWER told MÜLLER that it was perfectly in order that a prospective editor should have been a Gaupropagandaleiter and recommended that the applicants should write direct to MÜLLER (source: telephone intercepts, confirmed by the findings of the FDP committee of enquiry).

102. At this time also MÜLLER introduced his close associate, the Austrian Nazi von FREYBORN (see para. 60 above), to the DUESSELDORF FDP. MIDDLEHOVE stated publicly on 6 Jan 53 that he, DITZKE and MÜLLER had paid a return visit to von FREYBORN in SAIZBURG in Summer 1952, and that they had agreed on the desirability of an eventual "Anschluss" between Germany and Austria.

103. The foundation of "Die Deutsche Zukunft" under its ex-Nazi editorial staff marked the beginning of a more pronounced radical nationalist course pursued by the right-wing of the FDP under MIDDLEHOVE's leadership. On 25 Jul 53 MIDDLEHOVE proposed adoption of a new programme, the "Deutsches Programm", to the Land Congress of the FDP in North-Rhine/Westphalia and it was accepted. The programme concentrated significantly on such themes as appeal to demilitarisation, a stronger voice for the "war-generation" in public affairs, a dedication to the principles of the "Reich" etc., all familiar slogans of the National Circle and similar ex-Nazi forces, and conspicuously avoided mention of democracy, integration in Western defence and liberal principles. The MIDDLEHOVE policy was even more clearly stated in September, when his intention to organise a new "National Rally" of all political forces to the right of the CDU was publicly proclaimed. According to "Die Deutsche Zukunft", the need for such a rally had been recognised, not only by all the right-wing political groups, but also by "independent supra-party personalities" (i.e. the "liberalstenende") and by the mass of members of the ex-servicemen's associations (an echo of the MIDDLEHOVE plan of 1951).

104. The FDP committee of enquiry failed to reach any decisive findings as to the extent to which this undesirable policy trend was attributable to the influence of the MÜLLER Circle, and MÜLLER flatly refused to give factual information on this subject under interrogation. One of the most important items of evidence remains the telephone intercept of a conversation between DITZKE and MÜLLER on 19 Jul 53, i.e. six days before the proclamation of the Deutsches Programm at the FDP Land Congress. In this conversation MÜLLER thanked DITZKE for the many documents which he had received from him and which were "extremely valuable" for himself. DITZKE then promised to send him the draft of the "Deutsches Programm", and added that his own position in the FDP was becoming more stronger, as was witnessed by the fact that he had been given the important task of organising the training of FDP speakers at the various district headquarters of the party in the Land (similar work to be which he had at one time carried out on behalf of the NSDAP). MÜLLER agreed that this represented "enormous progress", and they arranged to submit each other regarding the financing of this training. (The strenuous objections of liberal forces in the FDP, however, later led to the cancellation of this new appointment of DITZKE).

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105. When the storm of public criticism broke over the FDP after the arrests of 14 Jan 53, MÜLLENBACH, after initial denials, eventually admitted that Hans FRITZSCHE (DIE ERGE's successor as head of the broadcasting division of the Propaganda Ministry and one of N.UMANN's contacts) and DIE ERGE assisted in the compilation of the "Deutsches Programm". The implication of the DIE ERGE/N.UMANN conversation of 19 Jul 52 (para. 104 above) was that N.UMANN himself was asked to approve the draft rather than that he participated in its initial compilation. The only important items of documentary evidence on N.UMANN's suspected influence on FDP policy directives were drafts of FDP "National Rally" appeals found amongst his impounded documents. They appeared to have been typewritten on his machine, and when they were read to him in an interrogation, he admitted in at least one case that the wording "sounded like" his composition.

106. It now seems likely that the direct connection between N.UMANN and MÜLLENBACH himself and Dr. Brian MENDE, Bundestag deputy and member of the FDP federal executive, was not so close as was earlier thought on the basis of telephone intercepts. This faulty appreciation was due to an incorrect identification of MÜLLENBACH and MENDE with the initiators of telephone calls to N.UMANN using the "Herr OPLDEN" telephone code. The probable explanation was that DIE ERGE was using MÜLLENBACH's and MENDE's telephones on the occasions in question. Only one actual meeting between MÜLLENBACH and N.UMANN has been established, and the FDP committee of enquiry found that it was an accidental one. MENDE appears also only to have met N.UMANN accidentally. The committee of enquiry was, however, sufficiently satisfied of the complicity of SCHENBACH, DIE ERGE, DREITEL (para. 101 above) and BRANDT (para. 101 above) in N.UMANN's infiltration plans that it recommended that they should be dismissed from the party. The dismissals have been carried out in the last three cases, and SCHENBACH has been stripped of his functions as Chairman of the FDP Foreign Affairs Committee and member of the Land party executive in North-Rhine/Westphalia (an appointment to which he was elected by the Land Congress on 7 Mar 53, i.e. after N.UMANN's arrest).

107. During 1952 the N.UMANN Circle's links with the FDP in Lower Saxony were also being strengthened. Under interrogation SCHILL and KUPFERNANN admitted that they received several visits, beginning in mid-1951, from HUISGEN, ex-SS Gruppenführer Robert SCHORLMANN and ex-NSDAP Obergruppenführer Heinrich SCHLEIFER-HENSEN on behalf of the HANNOVER FDP. Their accounts of the object of these visits were vague and unsatisfactory, but indicate generally that the FDP representatives stated that the time had come for the political reactivation of leading ex-Nazis who still enjoyed a personal following and that the FDP was a suitable vehicle for this purpose. Although SCHILL and KUPFERNANN claimed that their reaction was negative, it is evident that they were not uninterested in the proposals if only from the fact that they attended further discussions with the FDP representatives (see below).

108. Meanwhile N.UMANN established contact with the same HANNOVER FDP circle through his friend ex-SS Hauptsturmführer Guenther SCHNEIDERMAN, former adjutant to GOEBBELS and at this time one of HUISGEN's proteges in the HANNOVER FDP. N.UMANN admits that he invited SCHNEIDERMAN and HUISGEN, whom he had known before 1945, to visit him in DUESSELDORF in Autumn 1951. It was at this time that they collaborated with him, HUISGEN and ex-SS Obergruppenführer Herbert GILLE on a press reply to CDU attacks on the SS (source: censorship).

109. In Spring 1952 several meetings took place in HANNOVER between N.UMANN and representatives of the HANNOVER Circle and of the HANNOVER FDP. N.UMANN, SCHILL and KUPFERNANN all admitted participation in these meetings under interrogation, but gave evasive and unsatisfactory accounts of the discussions. The first meeting on 1 Mar 52 appears to have been attended by N.UMANN, SCHILL, KUPFERNANN, RUDOL and SCHLEIFER-HENSEN, and further meetings took place at end-Apr and beginning May when N.UMANN was representing the firm of LUCHT at the HANNOVER Trades Fair. The most notable of these was on 3 May 52, when SCHILL, KUPFERNANN and KUPFERNANN came from HANNOVER, SCHILL having previously arranged for the reservation of a hotel room through the agency of ex-SS Obersturmbannführer Hans Hendrik KORNELSEN of the HILLIS Valve Werke. The interrogation statements indicate that the other participants in this meeting were N.UMANN and RUDOL and HUISGEN, SCHLEIFER-HENSEN and ex-NSDAP Obergruppenführer Friedrich-Georg BRINKMANN on behalf of the FDP.

110. KUPFERNANN stated under interrogation that in Apr or May 52 he also had a private meeting with STEGNER, who sent his private car to fetch him from HANNOVER to FILLINGBOSTEL, a remote village in Lower Saxony, for the purpose. According to KUPFERNANN, they discussed the attitude of the youth and the ex-Nazis to the BONN agreements. Documentary evidence shows that a further meeting between STEGNER and KUPFERNANN and SCHILL was arranged by HUISGEN for 24 May 52, to take place at "a quiet,

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"...place near HANNOVER" at STEGNER's suggestion, but it had to be cancelled owing to STEGNER's ill-health. HUISGEN wrote to KUFFMANN on 20 May 52 (impounded document) giving an account of a meeting of the main Federal committee of the FDP, at which the HANNOVER delegation had demanded radical amendments to the supplementary clauses of the Contractual Agreement.

"In this Federal committee", HUISGEN wrote, "BLUECHER [Federal Vice-Chancellor and FDP Chairman] and Dr. DEHLER [FDP Federal Minister of Justice] described the present form of the Contractual Agreement as unacceptable. Dr. DEHLER even added that he would personally take the consequences. Dr. DEHLER is not our friend, but such an attitude can well be expected of him. STEGNER will remain unshakable in his attitude. It will be good if you have a thorough discussion with him on these points of the Contractual Agreement. He is unfortunately DEHLER's only opponent and for this reason is having a very difficult time. Such a man of course needs especially at this juncture the knowledge that there are broad sections of the community which understand and strongly support his activity and his fight against the majority in parliament. It was also decided to call an extra-ordinary Federal Party Congress on 5 Jul 52 in order to work out a united party approach to the basic political issues. This decision was brought about by the continued pressure and attacks of our like-minded friends, who do not agree with the present course of the FDP".

111. Shortly afterwards, at beginning Jun 52, HUISGEN arranged a meeting between STEGNER and KUFFMANN, which he considered would be "greatly in the interests of both parties". IN STEGNER's presence, he also asked KUFFMANN to recommend a press expert to work with the FDP in HANNOVER, which KUFFMANN agreed to do. KUFFMANN, however, while welcoming the proposed meeting with STEGNER, asked that it should not take place in Bonn, since "it would be in nobody's interests if we were seen together there" (sources: consorship and telephone intercepts). KUFFMANN admitted under interrogation having met STEGNER at a hotel in COLOGNE on 11 Jun 52. Although he failed to give any convincing account of the discussions, a report from a reliable covert source gives a clue as to their subject. STEGNER stated privately on the same day, according to the source, that he was in contact with several former high-ranking Nazis, including KUFFMANN, KUFFMANN and BERNER with a view to forming a Nationalist Opposition party, he hoped by Sep 52. This party would comprise the right wings of the FDP and D. and the smaller extreme right-wing groups and would oppose the Chancellor's "one-sided dependence on the West". This scheme apparently failed to materialise, for reasons which have not yet been clarified but are probably largely connected with STEGNER's vacillating policy in his own self-interest.

112. The impounded documents have shown that the KUFFMANN Circle's FDP connections were not confined to North-Rhine/Westphalia and Lower Saxony (a list of FDP contacts is attached at Appendix 'F'). A letter from a Frau Trudi MEHRINGER of BAYREUTH to BERNER dated 17 Jun 52 gave a very clear example of the technique of crypto-Nazi infiltration of the party. She enclosed part of a "Young Democrat" (FDP Youth Movement) circular letter * "in order to prove to you that it was possible to infiltrate here". After references to President HUGO as a "senile guinea-pig", Frau MEHRINGER continued:

"In ERLANGEN, where we are a bunch of Hitler-fans, SS-leaders and Kapala-people, we have succeeded, against the antique 1862 arch-democrats of anti-Bismarckian memory, in getting through a 32-year-old ex-NS leader as FDP First Chairman and an ex-SS Standartenfuhrer as FDP Secretary, town-councillor and fraction chairman, whom the whole manufacturing, middle-class bloc is now supporting. So it is working, even in Bavaria".

Frau MEHRINGER admitted that the FDP had little effect on the masses, but pointed out that its influence behind the scenes was greater, so that the policy of infiltration was worthwhile.

"Moreover, I hold the view", she added, "that it is fundamentally immaterial which party one penetrates - an issue. The main point is that we should not lose touch with each other and should consider parties merely as means subordinate to the end. As far as possible we should have people in all the parties, which is partially the case already".

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* not found amongst the impounded documents.

The Gesamtdeutscher Block (GDB)

113. In the Autumn of 1952 the NIMMERN Circle began to take an increasing interest in the BHE as a political vehicle for their exploitation. Several of their associates, such as TRUMPF, were members of this party, which they regarded as a spontaneous German political manifestation, unlike the democratic parties which were a creation of the Occupying Powers and a restoration of the failures of WEIMAR. In his DUESSELDORF speech NIMMERN advised his listeners that, in constituencies where the SPD is opposed by a common list of bourgeois parties, "we must choose the lesser evil" [i.e. the bourgeois list].

"But where a party such as the BHE has certain chances", he added, "we must support it. This seems to me at the moment the promising solution. Negotiations concerning this are at present in progress".

114. The Circle's intermediary with the BHE leadership was K. KUPFERN. Under interrogation, KUPFERN stated that he had had a private meeting in Jul or Aug 51 with the Federal Chairman of the BHE and Deputy Minister-President of Land Schleswig-Holstein, alderman KRAFT (himself an ex-SS Hauptsturmfuehrer), and the members of the BHE federal executive Dr. Alfred GILLE (see also para. 99 above) and Dr. Heinz KIESEBUSCH (a former leading member of the Deutsche Union and associate of the Brudersbund). KUPFERN gave as his motives for this discussion the desire to find a moderate political home for the embittered masses of the German youth and "war-generation". He claimed that he was well-satisfied with the BHE leaders' reaction to his thesis, so that after this meeting he always tried to influence his ex-Nazi colleagues to back the BHE. He later found a supporter in ZIMMERN when he (KUPFERN) put this point of view at a meeting of NIMMERN's "Wednesday Evening Circle" in DUESSELDORF in Oct 52. On 22 Nov 52 KUPFERN and his friend Dr. Franz HILMER of MUNICH (see paras. 24 and 59 above) on a visit to NIMMERN in DUESSELDORF again pressed the claims of the BHE. At NIMMERN's request, KUPFERN telephoned KIESEBUSCH and through him arranged a meeting with KRAFT in KIEL for 28 Nov 52. NIMMERN wrote at the same time to SCHIEL, stating that KUPFERN would make a personal report to him on the new move, and adding that he was very anxious to obtain SCHIEL's views on it. The cryptic phraseology of NIMMERN's letter emphasised the strict security which he wished to be observed regarding the discussions with KRAFT. The KRAFT/KUPFERN meeting of 28 Nov 52 took place at the KIEL address of KRAFT's assistant, ex-Nazi Kreisleiter Alfred KUTEN, and appears to have been mainly concerned with the arrangement of a further meeting with KRAFT for KUPFERN and ZIMMERN. (NOTE: This account is based on censorship and telephone intercepts, confirmed and amplified by KUPFERN's interrogation statement).

115. This second meeting took place at ZIMMERN's home in DUESSELDORF on 12 Dec 52 and was attended by NIMMERN, ZIMMERN and KUPFERN on behalf of the Circle and by KRAFT and Hans-Gerd FROELICH (member of the Bundestag) on behalf of the BHE. HILMER and HUPEUER of MUNICH (see para. 59 above) were also to have been present but KUPFERN failed to notify them in time of the date of the meeting. (source: uncoded documents). Under interrogation, ZIMMERN confirmed the impression gained from telephone intercepts at the time that both KRAFT and the leaders of the Circle were anxious to preserve the secrecy of the meeting, and he added the few individuals who knew of it were asked to treat it as strictly confidential. Notes concerning the discussion were found amongst ZIMMERN's incriminated documents and he gave a probably reliable account of it under interrogation.

116. ZIMMERN stated that, in general, KRAFT and NIMMERN were agreed that steps should be taken to end the "defamation of Germany" and that they should proceed cautiously to this end. KRAFT stated his intention of formulating a ten-point program, which he would make available to the NIMMERN Circle as soon as possible. Other points covered in the discussion, according to ZIMMERN, were:

- (a) KRAFT's interest in gaining the services of technical experts. ZIMMERN suggested the name of MEINERT, intimate member of the Circle (see para. 60 above) as an agricultural expert.
- (b) The BHE-SPD coalition in Lower Saxony. This was a point which SCHIEL had raised in reply to NIMMERN's request for his views on the discussion with KRAFT. After an accidental meeting with Professor Wilhelm ZIEGLER, Deputy Federal Chairman of the BHE and former Ministerialrat in the Propaganda Ministry, SCHIEL had warned NIMMERN of the risks of a BHE-SPD coalition at Federal

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* A list of the Circle's BHE contacts is included at Appendix 'F'.

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and added that, while the BSE wanted the votes of the ex-Nazis, they were resolved to prevent infiltration by them (impounded documents). KREMER explained that the Lower Saxon coalition was a "tactical necessity", which also served the purpose of swelling the BSE's own ranks with defectors from its coalition partners. This explanation, according to KREMER, entirely satisfied the leaders of the Circle.

- (c) The Circle's desire to prevent any "one-sided agreement with the West". ZIMMERMAN explained that the Circle advocated "cultural and psychological" ties with the West and economic agreements with the East, with national armed forces as a guarantee of Germany's independence. KREMER does not appear to have committed himself on this point.
- (d) The Circle's desire to wipe out the "guilt conscience" of the German people, as witnessed by President KREMER's recent public recognition of German guilt for the concentration camps. ZIMMERMAN claimed that KREMER was in complete agreement with the Circle on this point.
- (e) The Circle's desire to increase the central authority of the state. According to ZIMMERMAN, KREMER fully agreed with this desire. Shortly after the meeting KREMER significantly expressed his opposition to exaggerated federalism publicly and demanded greater powers for the central Federal authority.
- (f) KREMER's proposals for co-ordination in industry without socialism and to initiate discussions with Ruhr industrialist leaders. There was general agreement on these points.
- (g) The limitation as far as possible of confessional schools.

117. After the meeting, KREMER wrote to KREMER that the conversations lasted four hours and reached a more positive outcome than he had expected. KREMER wrote to SCHMIDT on 15 Dec 52:

"Meanwhile I spoke here to Herr SEID [i.e. KREMER] without undertaking any obligations (unverbindlich). He makes a good and reliable impression on me. You had best inform yourself of the details through our HAMBURG friend who was witness of the discussion [i.e. KREMER]. Your advice for this conversation [see para. 116(b) above] luckily arrived in good time; it was very valuable for us and we bore it very much in mind. The conference is to be continued in the middle of January."

[Our underlining. The further talks with KREMER were, of course, prevented by the arrests of 14 Jan 53.]

REMEMBERED PLANS FOR THE CIRCLE

118. Towards the end of 1952, as was shown by the calling of the conferences in DUISBURG and HAMBURG and by his speeches on these occasions, KREMER's plans for the Circle's future political activity were beginning to crystallize. His notes and letters impounded amongst his documents showed that he was making arrangements for a further conference of the Circle to take place on 30 Jan 53 (a date of possible significance being the twentieth anniversary of KREMER's assumption of power). The main theme of the conference was to be "here we stand today", and KREMER's letters indicated that he chose the speakers and himself laid down specific topics which they were to cover in their addresses.

119. A new development which had a bearing on KREMER's plans for the Circle was the publicity which it received in Scandinavian press articles in Nov 52. The articles alleged that "the British Secret Service" was taking an interest in the Circle and considered that executive action should be taken against it. Both LAMMERT (see para. 79 above) and SCHMIDT drew KREMER's attention to the articles, as did KREMER (CHERNOG). KREMER replied to SCHMIDT on 15 Dec 52 (impounded documents):

"Doubtless we are dangerous to certain gentlemen, because we do not behave so stupidly and naively as do many partisan leaders [leaders of right-wing extremist groups]. Nevertheless I am very careful. I have asked various friends to bring our real intentions to the knowledge of high places. From this I hope for a considerable quietening down. As soon as I know more, /I will ...

Both letters amongst the impounded documents.

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I will of course let you know. We should in no way let ourselves be hindered in our work through all this".

On 18 Dec 52 ACHENBACH spoke to the Federal Minister of Justice Dr. DEHLER on the subject, assuring him that he knew MUMMENWELL and knew that he had no designs against the Constitution. ACHENBACH arranged an interview for MUMMENWELL with DEHLER for early Jan 53, and MUMMENWELL was evidently delighted when he heard this news from ACHENBACH. (Source: telephone intercepts, confirmed by findings of FDP committee of enquiry). A last-minute warning, believed to have been from BLUMBERG as the result of conversations between the UK High Commissioner and the Chancellor, caused DEHLER to cancel the interview.

120. MUMMENWELL, however, refused to be thwarted in his endeavours to clear his name with the Federal German authorities. He was evidently anxious to obtain official recognition that any political activity in which he might indulge was in no way unconstitutional or directed against the Federal Government. Such a recognition would clearly have strengthened his hand in negotiations with both the "respectable" and the extreme right-wing parties and would have allayed the fears of some of his more hesitant ex-Nazi friends regarding participation in the Circle's activities. During the first fortnight of Jan 53, he made several attempts to contact Dr. Otto JOHN, head of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV), and finally succeeded in making a provisional arrangement for an interview with him for 16 Jan 53. The intermediary in this arrangement was Werner BERTHOLD, an official of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and friend of the LUCHT household. The interview was, of course, prevented by the British action of 14 Jan 53, but BERTHOLD remained in touch with Frau LUCHT and gave her advice on the handling of MUMMENWELL's defence. On 9 Apr 53, he advised her "for special reasons" to engage the DUSSELDORF lawyer Otto MUEZBUEHLER (who himself has many Nazi connections) in place of ACHENBACH as defence counsel; this was three weeks before ACHENBACH was stripped of his party functions by the SRP executive and laid down the defence brief (source: telephone intercepts). As far as is known, the Federal authorities have taken no action against BERTHOLD, although they are fully aware of his association with MUMMENWELL and Frau LUCHT. (NOTE: A list of the Circle's contacts in German governmental offices is included at Appendix 'I').

121. MUMMENWELL's plans, as revealed by his three major speeches in autumn 1952 with regard to foreign policy, attitude to the East, propagandist activities and attitude to the political parties, have been covered in foregoing paras. His plans for the Circle itself, its technique and its commitment in the political arena also emerge with some degree of clarity from the three speeches.

122. In the unidentified speech, MUMMENWELL enumerated the difficulties confronting the Circle, e.g. the fact that "the exploiters of 1945 do not intend to give up their advantageous position" and had learned their lesson from WEIMAR, as was shown by the coming of the SRP etc., and the fact that all that remained of National Socialism was "the name and esteem of one man and his ideal". MUMMENWELL stated:

"Both internally and externally we are faced by the same problems as confronted HITLER. He had at his disposal for their solution the Greater German Reich with all its resources and the faithful trust of his followers. But in the end he still did not achieve his aims. Who can presume once again to attempt the solution of these tasks under the present circumstances?"

MUMMENWELL's answer indicated the mission which, he believed, fell to his Circle:

"My answer here is quite clear: we must do it, because we have no other choice if we want to survive as individuals, as a family, as a nation".

123. In the same speech MUMMENWELL pointed to the effect which the overt appearance of his Circle might produce:

"Without presumption, we believe that our entry into the active political arena would impress many who hitherto have waited on one side without committing themselves. But such people will only answer our appeal once. If it turns out to be a false alarm, we will not be able to repeat it a second time. This is the reason for our restraint. We cannot throw ourselves into a political undertaking about which we do not know whether it will be finally judged as an adventure or as a milestone on the road to a better future".

In his 14th speech, MUMMENWELL gave the main reason for cautioning the Circle

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"There are very important reasons why we should still refrain from activity in the open, reasons which no one for whom politics are a duty rather than an employment may overlook. What makes it impossible for us to enter the open arena is the fact that we cannot yet uncompromisingly proclaim what we think. West Germany is not a sovereign state".

Again, at DUESSELDORF:

"The time for laying our cards on the table has not yet come ... DOKLE [former first chairman of the SRP] has done more harm than good. It would presumably be pleasantest for the Verfassungsschutzamt [BFV] if all those whom it cannot yet watch were now to reveal themselves with a signal, to facilitate the coming hounding of the National Socialists (NS-Kopfjagderei). Meanwhile we must create positions of power for ourselves. The time will come; we must only operate skilfully, and only expose ourselves when we can defend ourselves".

125. There was, however, much useful work which, KUMMELN felt, could be done by the Circle at the present stage. At HAMBURG he stated:

"The type of work being carried out by this circle, the rallying of valuable forces, seems to me to be the only correct way today. Our final aims remain unmentioned between us. Programmes are not binding and the time for their compilation and proclamation has not yet come. None the less we are working on them".

In his DUESSELDORF speech he enumerated the various ways in which this preparatory work could be carried out:

"Meanwhile there are many possibilities. We should extend the Gesellschaften [Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur etc. - see para. 84(d) above] and our publications. We should rally the country-people on a corporate basis, the soldiers' leagues in a roof-organisation, refugees, tax-payers associations etc. We should make ourselves heard in local government, capture Buergermeister and Oberbuergermeister positions as at DUESSELDORF and then bring together these practical men in a new Office for Local Government. Perhaps also one or other kind branch of this or that party*. In short, when we have penetrated communal life in all its facets, and when all or only some of them are prepared and conquered, then the hour for the United Front will have struck. Then it can be said that, apart from the licensed parties, there is also an Independent Germany ... Every position occupied by an upright German we regard as a success, e.g. if a new Wehrmacht is unavoidable, we can only try and see that honourable men and not traitors become its commanders".

Although in the same passage KUMMELN claimed that "we do not want to overthrow this state but only to improve it" and that "we recognise the rules of democratic practice, although we want to improve parliamentary anonymity by increased responsibility and authority", the technique of covert infiltration which he outlines above can be regarded as his blueprint for the preparatory stages of a restoration of power by the National Socialists.

126. In the application of this technique to the Circle's policy towards the 1953 Bundestag Elections, KUMMELN stated at DUESSELDORF that what was wanted was the election of

"capable technicians devoted to an all-German policy, influencing the executive to appoint independent patriots to the civil service administrative posts, providing the cover for the construction of a 'German Movement', and making heard in the Bundestag the new voice of Independent Germany. We cannot expect more at this stage ... we must adopt a middle-course between inaction and constituting ourselves as a new party".

KUMMELN opposed a reintroduction of the emotional electoral technique of the NSDAP, stating at HAMBURG that public meetings of the old Nazi type were no longer suitable.

/"The ...

* A possible reference to von WEDELSEDT, who was elected to the KUMMELN/Ruhr town council with FDP support on 9 Nov 52.

* Clearly a reference to the suitable field for exploitation provided by the FDP Land branches in North-Rhine/Westphalia and Lower Saxony - see paras. 96-112 above.

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"The ideas of National Socialism", he added, however, "by which our people and twelve years of German politics were decisively influenced, we wish to develop further and have already done so. Nothing is achieved by the Hakenkreuzler Aaron and a new flag. We need a new approach, new slogans, new terms and a new language, if we are to win to shape the politics of our people and achieve our aim. This approach will not be full of emphasis, propaganda and superlatives, but firmly realistic and serious, as befits our situation".

127. In his peroration to the 1933 ELDER speech, HILDEBRAND summarized his plans for the Circle, stating that they should prepare for the day, which he assured them would come, when the world would turn to "us, the reliable national forces of a people" for its salvation.

"The present rulers", he continued, "can neither morally nor materially rally the forces which are needed for the coming struggle. The day is perhaps not far distant when this fact is recognized everywhere both at home and abroad. Let us therefore work untiringly day after day. Let us close our ranks ever more tightly. Let us form a sworn association of several hundred men and we will become a power, which, at first in the background, but one day fully in the public eye, will bring to fruition the ideals which we once championed and for which our comrades died".

He developed the same theme in his unidentified speech, concluding:

"Once we have in this spirit formed a small but sworn association, well-disposed and active forces will flock to the unfurled flag. It takes a short time for the great mass-movement organically to grow out of the small group. No other way can lead to it... Meanwhile Germany will regain her sovereignty, and we will not hesitate to play the cards which will take the decisive trick".

CONCLUSIONS

128. The foregoing paras set out to present a full history of the HILDEBRAND Circle from the time of HILDEBRAND's resumption of political activity in the summer of 1930 until his arrest on 14 Jan 33, insofar as it is known to us from three years' research on material from intelligence sources, from the interrogation of HILDEBRAND and six of his associates, and from the study of impounded documents. Although it is believed that no important aspect of the Circle's activities is wholly omitted from this history, it is emphasized that the Circle's ramifications were found to be so widespread that much interesting material of less immediate importance (e.g., especially from the wealth of impounded correspondence and from the interrogations) could not be quoted for want of space.

129. The dominant theme in the picture which emerges from the history is one of an able, intensely energetic and fanatical politician, convinced of his mission to revive the ideals of National Socialism and of his destiny to become the leader of a new German Reich, evolving the technique and undertaking the preparatory work of a long-term plan for the recovery of power. The technique consisted, briefly, in the planned covert development of political influence in every department of German public life, and the preparatory work in the rallying of a small hard core of devoted adherents within the Federal Republic and like-minded collaborators beyond its frontiers. The later stage of the plan was to have entailed the emergence into the open political arena of the hard core as leaders of a new National mass-movement. Before his arrest, HILDEBRAND clearly did not envisage putting the second stage of the plan into operation before the 1933 Bundestag elections. Two pre-conditions for the second stage were that the preparatory work should have been completed to his satisfaction and that Germany should have regained her sovereignty.

130. The history of failure of the numerous overt right-wing extremist parties and groups in the past four years supports the conclusion that, if ever a form of National Socialism were to be restored in Germany, the HILDEBRAND technique offered the most favourable prospects. Moreover, HILDEBRAND himself appears to be the only figure yet to have emerged in post-war Germany with the capacity to lead such a restoration. Latest intelligence information shows that, even while still in gaol in LAMBERSHEIM, he is passing messages via Frau LUCIE to his political associates giving advice and directions on their policy towards the coming Bundestag elections.

131. The British action of Jan 23 has, however, seriously disrupted HILDEBRAND's long-term plan by prematurely exposing it to the world, and especially to the German public. It is doubtful whether he could now, even if he wished, resume his technique of covert

/infiltration ...

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infiltration, keeping himself and his Circle in the background. The implications of his messages from KULSRUHE are that, appreciating this, he ^{has} decided to implement the second stage of his plan immediately, by himself standing, together with several of his associates, on the electoral list of an existing party, namely the Deutsche Reichs-Partei (DRP). Although he was already considering the exploitation of the DRP at the elections (see para. 92 above), this decision denotes a fundamental revision of his original plan, and the adoption of a scheme which he himself has described as a gamble (para. 123 above).

132. Perhaps the most important lessons to be drawn from the history of the N.ULMANN Circle until Jan 53 concern the factors in the West German political scene which gave N.ULMANN reason to hope for the success of his technique. Whatever N.ULMANN's own ultimate fate may be, these factors present a fruitful field for exploitation by crypto-Nazi forces in the future. They can be summarized as follows:-

- (a) The presence of widespread circles of prominent ex-Nazis unconverted to the existing democratic order, embittered by their experiences after the Capitulation and awaiting the first suitable opportunity of regaining their own former power.
- (b) The influence which these prominent ex-Nazis are still able to exert over large numbers of minor ex-Nazis, many of whom are active in the right-wing extremist parties and groups. The skilful direction of this influence by such a man as N.ULMANN could, in favourable circumstances in the future, bring about the united Nationalist Front which remains the goal of most of these forces.
- (c) The powerful influence in the "respectable" right-wing parties, especially the FDP, which is still wielded by ex-Nazi elements who have been in touch with the N.ULMANN Circle. The minor purge carried out by the FDP in North-Rhine/Westphalia can in no way be said to have eliminated their influence in this land. In Lower Saxony no purge of the party or even enquiry has been carried out, although the FDP Federal Executive are fully aware that the HANNOVER Land branch is almost as thoroughly permeated with crypto-Nazi elements as that in DUESSELDORF. The decisive factor in this situation is the determination of the "respectable" right-wing parties to win the ex-Nazi vote at the elections.
- (d) The presence within the ex-servicemen's associations of widespread elements formerly associated with Nazism and still susceptible to ultra-nationalist appeals.
- (e) The improving market for German nationalist propaganda both within Germany and abroad, where sympathetic listeners can be found in the Near East, South Africa, South America, amongst former collaborationists in Europe and in certain Republican circles in the U.S.
- (f) The incapacity of German governmental officials fully to understand, and the inadequacy of the Federal German security and legal machinery satisfactorily to deal with the crypto-Nazi technique evolved by N.ULMANN. This factor has been amply demonstrated in the handling of the N.ULMANN case by the Federal authorities.

133. In his final despatch on the investigations into the N.ULMANN Circle, the UK High Commissioner wrote: "Although the future is not clear, one thing is certain. Nazism is not extinct in Germany". The factors (a) to (f) above represent the ground on which it can breed in the future. The history of the N.ULMANN Circle reveals the most important forces concerned in its revival and the most dangerous technique which it is in their power in present circumstances to adopt.

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A PERIODIC 'A'

BORENN'S CONNECTIONS TO THE AUGUST 1951
ESPIONAGE NETWORK

1. Study of BORENN's impounded documents threw further light on the connection which he was already known to have had with the espionage network of ex-SD Obersturmführer August KRIEGER and Adolf Kollmann. There is no evidence that BORENN or any other members of his Circle were implicated in, or even aware of, BORENN's association with KRIEGER (which existed in any case in late 1950 - early 51 before the Circle was properly formed). A brief summary of this case is, however, considered necessary, since it constitutes the one established link, if an indirect one, between a member of the Circle and an East Zone agency.

2. KRIEGER was the central figure in a network of ex-SD agents, who were found by British Intelligence research to be engaged in an attempted planned penetration of Federal Government circles for the purpose of passing information to, amongst others, an East Zone agency. Under interrogation, KRIEGER admitted making payments to his sub-agents for this information out of funds which he had received for the purpose from this agency. Although it is denied that espionage was involved, it was established with a high degree of probability that his employers were members of the Russian Intelligence Service. Amongst the impounded documents of KRIEGER and the other arrested persons were found high-level briefs on Federal Government affairs, especially remilitarisation planning, and copies of numerous reports which the network had passed to the East Zone agency on the same subjects. (Most of these reports turned out to have been fabricated by two members of the network, one of them KRIEGER's chief collaborator, Hans K. K.).

3. Intelligence information, confirmed by KRIEGER's interrogation statements, showed that BORENN had been a recipient of KRIEGER's briefs on Federal Government affairs and had exchanged reports with him and Kollmann. The following documents were found amongst BORENN's impounded materials which provided conclusive evidence of his complicity in the network:

- a) Several briefs requiring political, economic and military information on Federal Government affairs, corresponding closely to those KRIEGER was known to have issued to his sub-agents.
- b) An exchange of four letters between BORENN and Kollmann (using his alias of Adolf Kollmann) during the period of 2 - May 51. In one of these letters BORENN had passed several items of information on Federal Government remilitarisation planning.
- c) A "strictly confidential" report of a conversation of the Federal Minister of Justice Dr. BRUNER. This, probably fabricated, report had every appearance of being one of KRIEGER's items of exchange information for BORENN.

4. Although we know BORENN to have severed his connections with KRIEGER and KOLLMAN in the early summer of 1951 (i.e. before the Federal Law against divulging of state secrets was introduced in June 51), there is the following evidence amongst his documents that he continued to show special interest in obtaining confidential information on Federal Government affairs after that date:

- a) A report, apparently highly confidential, on a meeting on 2 Jan 51 at the Fed. Ministry of the Interior of wireless and telecommunications experts from the member Governments. Pencil notes "for a radio specialist" and "extra caution please" on the reverse of the last page of the report appear to be written by Carl Heinz KRIEGER, the archivist of the National Circle. This letter is dated 18 Mar 52 (impounded documents), KRIEGER entered a "former SD agent who is with the wireless service of the office and is a radio specialist." This man may well have been the source of the report, in which case BORENN almost certainly received it after Jan 51 at which date KRIEGER has not yet been in contact with him).

/b)

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- b) Carbon copies of two letters from BORNEJAN dated Apr and May 52 to Gord VALLEISER, a free-lance journalist in BORNE. In these letters BORNEJAN pressed for information concerning personnel questions and promotions in Federal Ministries, Foreign Office plans, and names and origins of the BLANK Office departmental heads and of the officials responsible for the Federal Emergency Police and Frontier Protection force.
5. MORITZ, WHELEN and another associate have been held in German custody awaiting trial on espionage charges ever since June 1952. It is not yet known whether the Federal Authorities will include complicity in this case amongst the charges against BORNEJAN.

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APPENDIX 'D'

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

- para 84(c) of main report. Other references below are to paras of the main report)
1. "Der erste Schritt" - Bruno Peter HILST (see paras 64-68)
 2. "Haffens-SS in Einsatz" by Paul HUSSE (former SS-Obersturmführer and senior surviving officer of the Haffens-SS) (see paras 40, 42, 44 and 108)
 3. "Hetzjagd" by Hans-Ulrich KUBEL (SS-Oberst. See paras 24, 31, 38-59, 51-52, 72, 82 and 109)
 4. "England-Burgund-Spandau" by Ilse HESS (wife of Rudolf HESS)
 5. "Tagebuch eines Mannes, der ungerecht hieß" by Fritz H.C. (recollections of life in an Allied internment camp).
 6. "Technische Klagen an" Dr. Robert GRUBER. (a defence of former Nazi university teachers. See paras 59(d) and 60(c))
 7. "Erinnerungen eines Soldaten" by Heinz GÄRTNER (ex-Generaloberst. See paras 38 - 49).
 8. "Regierung Bernitz" by Walter HUBER-SCHUBERT.
 9. "Gespräche mit Hermann GÖRING" by Werner HUBER.
 10. "Das offene Problem" by Otto HUBER (former Ambassador to occupied France)
 11. "Fallschirmjäger Daniels und danach" by Hans-Joh. HUBER (see paras 42, 47, 51-52 and 55)
 12. "Kriegsberg, Venter des Lichts" by Hans-Joh. HUBER (an attack on Allied sentencing of war criminals)
 13. "Der Belgier wächst kein Gras" by Oskar (an attack on Allied sentencing of war criminals)
 14. "General Dahl" by Oskar (a bio sketch, by H. HUBER, of the 1st General-Oberst Eduard DAHL, commander of the German Army in Norway, who committed suicide at the Capitulation).
 15. "Hilfers Tischgespräche" by FICHER.
 16. "Die Spricht und RENZSCH" by Ilse SPRINGER (RENTSCH was the former Nazi radio commentator and head of the Broadcasting Division of the Propaganda Ministry. See para 115)
 17. "Die Erzbischöflichkeit" by Hans GILLET (see paras 24(r) and 66) (a reply, in defence of Nazi Germany, to a statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury)
 18. "Die Politik der Zerstörung" by Maurice HUBER (see para 76) (an attack on post-war Allied policy in Germany).
 19. "Auch nach - oder als Geistes und" by Maurice HUBER (an attack on the Nuremberg trials)
 20. "Der Weg nach vorne" by Maurice HUBER (numerous copies of this were found packed for distribution in AMERIK's home)

21. "Grosse Ransom" by Erich KERN (a defence of the Taffeln-SS by the former Austrian propaganda official Erich KERNHARTER)
22. "Das Hauptteil" by H. H. MASCHKE.
23. "Kernkraft" by Helge BRENNENBERG (believed to be pseudonym of Kurt BRUNZELIN, former Gaupropagandaleiter - see para 24(g))
24. "Das Berlin" by Paillippo RUSO (former Italian Ambassador in Berlin. See para 72)
25. "Kontspielige Sache" by Freda GILBY (an attack on Allied policy in Germany by an American writer known to KERNHARTER)
26. "Die unheimliche See" by Karl Jesko von PUTTLER (former Naval adjutant to HITLER and contact of KERNHARTER).
27. "Zwischen Eid und Befehl (Hitler und Die Kriegsmarine)" by Karl Jesko von PUTTLER
28. "Kriegsflug und Absturz (Hitler und die Luftwaffe)" by Nicolaus von ZECH, (HITLER's former Air Force adjutant and associate of KERNHARTER).

Ref: 10

6. HANKE Professor Heinrich (DET. Old and LAMMER)

NSDAP member from 1932. Former president of the Verband der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Professor at the Technische Hochschule Berlin, head of the Foreign Department of the Reich Propaganda Ministry and member of the Reich Censorship Board for the protection of National Socialist Literature. At present general secretary of the Akademie fuer Forschung und Landesplanung BERGHOFF, sponsored by the Reich Ministry of the Interior. Contact of FDP BERGHOFF. Close associate of LAMMER. Was invited to the private meeting of the Munksgaard Circle in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52) but was unable to attend. Also invited by LAMMER to address planned meeting of the Circle on 30 Jun 53 on economic-political questions.

7. LUCAT Frau Ida Elly (von DIESSEL) (DUESSELDORF)

A former Reich national, widow of Herbert LUCAT, a Propaganda Ministry official in occupied France. Owner of an Import-Export business, LAMMER's employer, mistress and political confidante.

16, 21, 33, 38, 40, 43, 52, 72, 75-76, 80, 97, 120, 130.

8. MATITZ Dr. Heinz von (WUPPERTAL)

Former Gauarbeitsfuhrer. An active supporter of the FRANKE-GRUBER faction of the Landesrat. A friend of LAMMER, DIESSEL and LAMMER and regular visitor to LAMMER's "Scientific".

9. WITZ Dr. Heinrich (KOBLENZ)

A former Oberratsbeauftragter of the SD in the Reichsicherheitshauptamt (RSHA). Collaborated with the Landesrat and in 1951 founded the "Gefahrenabwehr Ausschuss der Angehörigen der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes". Is a close associate of Dr. Rudolf ASCHENAUER in his work on behalf of war-crime. In late 1952 planned to move to the COBLENZ-DUESSELDORF area in order to cooperate more closely with LAMMER, DIESSEL and PETER on an adaptation of the "MI" and "SE" LAMMER's publication "Die deutsche Nation". Spoke at the private meeting in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52) on the subject of the US Presidential Elections.

59(c), 60(f), 86

10. WITTEG Wilhelm (DUESSELDORF / KOBLENZ)

Ex-SS Gruppenfuhrer, Deputy Reichsgruppenfuhrer and member of the Landesrat of the German Geheimen Reichswache. Was concerned in certain journalistic projects of Dr. Dr. Gunther GIBBS before the latter's defection to eastern Germany, and in founding of the Verband der Deutschen Nationaler Gruppen (VNDG). Is an intimate member of the Munksgaard Circle and was used the private meeting of the circle in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52).

60(h), 116(a)

/11. LAMMER

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11. NAUMANN Dr Werner

Para

Full personality details are given in pages 11-21 of main report.

Mentioned throughout the report.

12. PETER Karl Heinz

(DORFMEYER)

A former NS leader and librarian at the Reichsjugend-fuehrung. Claimed to have excellent archives which he wished to extend and put at the disposal of the Circle. Addressed the private meeting of the Circle in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52) on the subject of his archives and asked that material such as old newspapers be forwarded to him. Proposed to move to DUESSELDORF in early 1953 to work closer with SCHULZE, SCHULZE and WILHELM on propagandist work for the Circle.

59(c), 60(c), 88

13. SCHULZE Richard

(formerly HAMBURG, now DUESSELDORF)

Former SS Obersturmbannfuhrer and adjutant to ALBRECHT and later to FETTER. Member of the "NSA" ex SS Association. Friend of SCHULZE and NAUMANN, between whom he has acted as courier.

49, 58

14. STIEPE Heinz

(SOLINGEN)

Former NSDAP Landrat and Ortsgruppenleiter in East Prussia. Part owner of the ROSENDA steel works at SOLINGEN. In 1950 was Land-Secretary of the North Rhine-Westphalia Deutsche Union and later supervised the Bruderschaft. He was opposed to the pro-Western attitude of the Deutsche Union. Became one of KRAUSE's close collaborators at end 1950. Arrested 24 Jan 53. Proved to be a weak character under interrogation and freely admitted the dangerous nature of the NAUMANN Circle. Released on bail 53

10, 24(c), 30-31, 54-55, 59(c), 60(b)

15. SPAIN Franz Josef

(COLOGNE)

Formerly head of NSDAP organisation in Japan and Amtschef in the Reichsjugendfuhrung. Lecturer for KRAUSE's "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur" and a regular participant in the private meetings of the NAUMANN Circle.

16. STIEHLER Wilhelm

(DUESSELDORF)

A former Stuka pilot and major in the Luftwaffe. Close friend of KRAUSE. Now employed in a DUESSELDORF bank. Attended several of the Wednesday "Staatliche" and the November meeting in DUESSELDORF.

17. STORZ Albert

(SOLINGEN)

Regular member of KRAUSE's "Staatliche". He attended the private meeting of the Circle in DUESSELDORF in Nov 52. In 1951 lectured to meetings of the "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur". Secretary of this organisation at SOLINGEN.

18. TRUMPF Werner

(DUESSELDORF)

A former SA-Obersturmbannfuhrer. Chief of Prison Office of the Reichsstatistikfuhrung. Now NSF functionary in North-Rhine-Westphalia. An intimate member of the NAUMANN Circle and close friend of SCHULZE.

86, 99.

/19. WEDDELSTEDT

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19. EDLSTEDT Helmut von

• (DUESELE/Kuhr)

Former official in Reich Ministry of the Interior, Landeshauptmann of East Prussia, Deputy Reich Commissioner for the ODESSA, head of the Tourist Organisation in East Prussia and confidant of GERING. Was the ROSS leader of the ROSS E-GRUPPEN faction of the Bruderschaft and advocated future trial of all former Nazis who had served either with the Allies or with the Federal Government. Became one of GERING's closest collaborators after the dissolution of the Bruderschaft in 1951. Elected to the DUESELE/Kuhr town council with FDP support on 9 Nov 52. Afterwards active in the E.

54,125 (footnote)

20. ZIMMERMANN Dipl. Ing. Paul

(DUESELE/Kuhr)

1931 joined NSDAP. 1932-7 Gauarbeitsfuhrer in North Westphalia with the task of organizing the Reichsarbeitsdienst. 1937 appointed SS Standartenfuhrer and entrusted with the formation of SAPOW by HITLER. 1940 promoted SS Brigadefuhrer. 1942 joined the Economic Staff of the Armed Forces with a view to taking over the administration of Leningrad if and when it was occupied. 1943 Generalmajor of the Ordnungspolizei on central sector of the Russian front. 1944 transferred to Italy to maintain order behind the front. Mid-1944 joined the High Command of the Armed Forces with the task of organizing army transport. At present employed as adviser to the Wirtschaftsvereinigung Abteilung Eisen und Stahl. Has numerous Egyptian business and quasi-political interests. Has contacts with the FDP in DUESELE/Kuhr and with Ruhr industrialists. Became one of GERING's most intimate collaborators at end 1951. Arrested 14 Jan 53. Released 16 Jan 53.

10,21,54-55,
61,81,87,114-
116.

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APPENDIX 'D'

References to paras in the left column are
indicated in the right-hand column

27

1. LEHATZKI Sigwalt

(11-156)

formerly "Sudetendeutscher Studentenführer" and Kreisleiter. Now a political leader writer on the "Sudetendeutsche Zeitung" and a local chairman of the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft. Was an early adherent of the Bruderschaft. Took part in a meeting in BRUNNEN in sep 1932 between SOHN, SEDER, PETER, JOHANN, SEDER and GRASER at which the formation of a new party was discussed.

2. 1953 Dr Gunner

(BORSTEL/HOLSTEIN)

Former SA Ständartenlehrer and lecturer at HEIDELBERG University. Was closely associated with the "ruderschaft", on whose behalf he exploited his Swedish connections. He attended the SCHASSBERG and REIDING meetings of the "Katholik Circle" and was a regular attendee of SCHASSL's "Korrekturen."

60

3. BINDING Dr. Art

(Formerly HAWKING, now COLONYE)

Former NSDAP Registration President of HILDESHEIM SS
Brigadefuehrer, SS and SD official. Had employment
by Concordia Life Assurance. Is an intimate member
of SCHEEL's circle.

4. ROGER Ex-Comptroller, Brown

(EFTV/102344)

Former commander of the German fleet in Spanish waters during the Civil War and Naval Officer (1940-45). Was a highly-regarded member of SCHUBB's "Korrespondenz", a contributor to the neo-fascist periodical "Nation Europa". An influential member of the German Soldiers' Union (VDB/LVA).

5. DO ENITE, and TRIO and TRIO

(تجدید و ترقی)

Wife of former Grossadmiral Karl DOENITZ, successor to HITLER as Führer and Reich Chancellor (May 40). Employed as nursing-sister in the KROPPFELDER nursing-home. Is on close terms with most of SCHEEL's political associates and clearly shares their views.

422

6. FRANCE: FEND Alfred Edward

(S-5082)

Appointed SDAP Minister of VIEUNA in 1935. From November 1935 to June 1936, when he fled to Germany, FRIEDENBERG served terms of imprisonment. Appointed in June 1935 council member of the Union Theistic Chamber. Member of the Reichstag. During the war was Commissioner-General in the Danube. Author of a considerable amount of Nazi literature and was head of the Reich Propaganda Office, VIEUNA in 1945. Arrested by US forces at EISENBERG on May 45. Attempted to commit suicide. He gave no record of his whereabouts between May 45 and 1950. He resided in the "Deutsche Korsettfabrik", in which he gave his

50,90

7. Interviewing

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maintaining the ideals of National Socialism. In November 1951, FRANKFELD attracted much attention by his speech at a meeting of the SS Mutual Aid Association (MAG) in HAMBURG in which he spoke of the East having stabbed Germany in the back while she was fulfilling her mission in the East.

7. FRANKFELD Hans (HAMBURG)

Former Generalstaatsanwalt for HAMBURG-GERMANY. Was an early adherent of the Bruderschaft. An intimate member of SCHEEL's "Horrenklub" and a participant in all its political discussions. His office was sometimes used for its meetings. Attended the private meeting of the MAG Circle in HAMBURG (18-19 Nov 52).

6. HESELMAYER Dr. med. Heinrich (HAMBURG)

Installed in 1933 by NSDAP Paulsitzung HAMBURG as Head of HAMBURG Volksschule. An NSDAP "Alter Kämpfer" and veteran of the 1923 Putsch. In 1926 founded SDP Studentenbund in MUEZZBURG. Joined SS 1929. Became Gauredner HAMBURG and leader of the HAMBURG Studentenschaft in 1931. Has published works on racial science and the sterilisation of the unfit. Attended the private meetings of the MAG Circle in DUESSELDORF and HAMBURG and arranged the collection to cover MAG Circle's expenses at the HAMBURG meeting. Arrested 14 Jan 53. Released Apr 53.

10,60

9. KAUFMANN Carl (HAMBURG)

Former Gauleiter of HAMBURG and member of the Reichstag. After first world war, member of a terrorist and sabotage organisation in SWEST. and the KKK. Member of the NSDAP since 1921. Interned 1945-46. Was the honorary president of the Bruderschaft with the title of "Reichsmeister". His activity was considerably reduced by ill-health, but he maintained contacts with the leaders of the NSDAP and FDP (MAG Circle) on behalf of the MAG Circle. Arrested 15 Jan 53. Released Apr 53.

10,23,107,109-111, 114-115,117.

10. KRUEGER Dr. F.P. (HAMBURG)

Joined NSDAP 1 May 1932. Referendar in hospitals LONDON and PARIS 1933-35. Suspected of having worked for SD. Friend of KUNSTAMM, SCHEEL and GRIESNER. SCHEEL's defence lawyer.

11. KUNSTAMM Prof. Dr. med. Heinrich (HAMBURG)

Joined NSDAP and SA in 1930. SA Sanitätsstandartenführer. Director of the Heilheime SIEVING and RUTENBERG nursing-homes. One of the most active members of SCHEEL's "Horrenklub". Attended the private meetings of the MAG Circle in DUESSELDORF and HAMBURG and, according to KAUFMANN, was the prime mover in arranging KAUFMANN's address to the HAMBURG meeting.

49,56-57,60,89,109

12. LEITER Dr. med. Joachim (HAMBURG)

Former SS Hauptsturmführer in Gestapo in DUISBURG. Attended the private meetings of the MAG Circle in HAMBURG and DUESSELDORF. In touch with LIT North-Germans/Ostpreuss (Land Security Organisation).

/13. LOWENACK.

13. LOEWS, Wilhelm

(H.M. 1000)

Former NSD. Gauleiter in H.M. 1000. A hunchback. Intimate member of SCHUBERT's circle. Attended the private meeting of the H.M. 1000 Circle in H.M. 1000 (18-19 Nov 52).

14. PETTER Dr. Kurt

(H.M. 1000)

Former NSD. Obergruppenführer and Inspector of Adolf HITLER's Reichstag. Intimate member of SCHUBERT's circle.

15. ROSE Dr. Adolf

(H.M. 1000-1000000)

Former NSD. Gauleiter. A friend of SCHUBERT and SCHUBERT's. Attended the private meeting of the H.M. 1000 Circle in H.M. 1000 on 18 Nov 52.

16. RIEGER Hans Heinrich

Former SA Gruppenführer and member of the Reichstag. Ministerial Director in Reich Food and Agricultural Ministry and State Secretary in the Ministry for the Administration of the Eastern Occupied Territories. A friend of SCHUBERT's. Member after first world war and joined the NSDAP in 1929. He gave no record of RIEGER's whereabouts between 1945 and 1951. Participated in SCHUBERT's meeting in 1951 to discuss coordination of nationalistic groups. Member of SCHUBERT's Circle in H.M. 1000.

17. ROSE Dr. Alfred

(H.M. 1000)

Former editor of the "Hochschule" magazine. Member of the H.M. 1000 Circle and attended the private meeting of the H.M. 1000 Circle in H.M. 1000 (18-19 Nov 52). Member of the H.M. 1000 Circle in H.M. 1000.

18. SCHEPPE Dr. Karl

(H.M. 1000)

Former member of the Propaganda Division of the Reich Propaganda Ministry. Was closely associated with the NSDAP Auslandsorganisation and the "Hochschule" magazine. Attended SCHUBERT's "Hochschule" and the private meeting of the H.M. 1000 Circle in H.M. 1000 in November 1952. Arrested 14 Jan 53. Released Apr 53.

19. SCHUBERT Dr. Gustav Adolf

(H.M. 1000)

Former Reichsstudentenführer, Reichsstatthalter and Gauleiter of SA 2000. NSD. Gruppenführer and member of the Reichstag. Was in American internment from 12 May 45 until 22 May 46. Was a leader of the "Hochschule" section in H.M. 1000 known as the "Hochschule" in H.M. 1000. Maintains close contact with former high-ranking members in Germany, Austria, South America and with international fascist circles. Doctor at medicine in the H.M. 1000 nursing home in H.M. 1000. Closely associated with SCHUBERT since end 1951. Arrested 14 Jan 53. Released Jun 53.

10, 49, 52-58, 60
71, 84(d) 89-90
95, 99, 107, 109-
110, 114, 116-117,
119.

/s/ H.M. 1000.

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20. SCHROEDER Walter (LIEBOWITZ) Para

Former SS Brigadier General and police. Attended the private meetings of the "Kampfbund" Circle in DUISBURG and in 1944.

21. STILLER Gustav (LIEBOWITZ)

Former Ambassador in Tokyo. Last post in 1945. Member of "Kampfbund" Circle and chairman of meetings of his "Kampfbund".

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APPENDIX 'E'

ASSOCIATES OF THE NAZIENKREIS CIRCLE (SECRET)

References to items in the main report are quoted
in the right-hand column

1. D'LOUEN Guenther (JUELICH) Para
Joined HJ in 1925 - SA in 1926 - joined
staff of "Volksische Beobachter" in Berlin.
1935 Chief Editor of "Das germanische Corps".
1944 Commander of SS-Standarte "Aurt BOEGER",
the unit covering all the SS war reporters.
Maintains contact with SAU WIL and
DIEWERGE. Believed to be
connected with SA Intelligence and the SA-PA
Organisation.
2. ASCHENBERGER Dr. Rudolf (DUISBURG) 59(c), 88
Former defence counsel at the DRESDEN Trials.
Radical right-wing politician. Publisher of the
ultra-nationalist monthly "Die andere Seite"
which BOEGER, WIL and PETER planned to
amalgamate with the "Kof".
3. AXMIN Arthur Werner (GIESSEN) 14, 23, 24(b), 30, 99
and 109
Former Reichsjugendfuhrer and member of the
Reichstag. Stayed with HITLER and GOEBBELS in
the Reich Chancellery to the end. Released from
internment in 1949 as Category I Nazi. Was
favourably disposed towards, but avoided open
contact with the "Kuderschaft". In 1950 AXMIN
reportedly offered to cooperate with the
Communist Party and youth movements in
West Germany. Associated with WIL and PETER
and was invited to Schmidt's meetings in 1951
to discuss coordination of right-wing, nationalist
groups. Attended meeting of National Circle
leaders with PETER and ROVER on 1 April 52. No
recent information available on him.
4. BACKES Kurt (COLOGNE)
Leader of the "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und
Kultur" in Bonn. Attended one of the private
meetings of the Circle.
5. BELOW Nikolaus von (DUISBURG) Appx 'b'
Former Luftwaffe Oberst and adjutant to HITLER
from 1937 until 1945. One of the witnesses to
HITLER's personal will. Was interned from
7 Jan 46 until 24 May 48. Was one of the
people for whom GOEBBELS was endeavouring to
find employment. Author of "Auratio und
Abstrak (Hitler und die Luftwaffe)".
6. BISCHOFF Dietrich Hans (ESSEN)
Wealthy industrial supporter of right-wing
parties, including the Deutsche Partei in
North Rhine/Westphalia as well as the DPA.
A former underground sympathiser. Contact
of BOEGER and SAU WIL.

/7. BOEGER

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7. EGGEME Dr. Robert (BOHEMIA / MORAVIA) ARA
 poet and author of the Nazi era. Editor of the mystical and nationalist "Kulturbildung". Has had connections with leaders of most nationalist groups. At present runs the "Deutsches Kulturwerk Europäischen Geistes", a neo-fascist cultural group which is anti-American and anti-semitic. Maintained close contact with HADJARI and SCHENK.
8. REDEL Dr. Bruno
 an Austrian socialist with National Socialist leanings. Lectured in KARLSBAD's "Gesellschaft fuer Forschung und Kultur". 86
9. REDEL Dr. Fritz (BOHEMIA)
 Ex-SS Brigadefuehrer. Contributor to the neo-fascist magazine "Nation Europa". At one time member of the "Deutsches Kulturwerk" but was later expelled. Took part in the negotiations to form the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft nationaler Gruppen (n.G)". At present at a meeting with HADJARI, SCHENK and others in Prague 52. 89, 99
10. REINER Professor Dr. Otto (BOHEMIA / MORAVIA)
 Former Vice-President of the Reichsbund der Bildenden Kuenstler. Well-known sculptor and art collector. Former friend of HADJARI when he advised to resume his political activity in 1954. 22
11. RUCH Hermann (BOHEMIA / MORAVIA)
 believed to be an ex-SS Hauptsturmfuehrer. Associate of HADJARI. Member of a South German ex-Nazi circle, and contact of the neo-Nazi "Forschung und Kultur". 55, 59(a) and (b)
12. REICH Dr. Karl (BOHEMIA)
 Joined SA 1932, 1933 leader of the SA in the EL. Later became SS Brigadefuehrer. Chief obergewaltfuehrer and member of the VI of the NSDAP. A contact of HADJARI, SCHENK and REINER of the Lower Saxon NSDAP. 89
13. REINER Dr. Otto (BOHEMIA)
 A former SA Sturmbannfuhrer who joined the NSDAP in 1934. Member of the private meeting of the Circle in Prague 52 (1-2 Nov 52).
14. REINER Dr. Otto (BOHEMIA / MORAVIA)
 Former SA Sturmbannfuhrer and member of the NSDAP in Prague 52. Member of the private meeting of the Circle in Prague 52 (1-2 Nov 52). Was planning to meet HADJARI and REINER in Prague 52 shortly before HADJARI's arrest.

/15. REINER.

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15. HERBERT Arthur (NORRIS) Para 72, 78
 Publisher of the non-fascist monthly "Nation Europa" and in contact with the British Union Movement and other fascist organizations abroad. Received financial backing for his publication from ROSSLY and political guidance from ADAM until his break with them in Dec 52.
16. FISCHER Gustav (ADAM)
 Former Gaupropagandaleiter for Styria and SA Oberführer. An associate of both ADAM and BORNHEIMANN.
16. FLORIAN Friedrich Carl (BESSELMER) 59(e), 160.
 Former Gauleiter of BESSELMER. Interned 13 Apr 45 to 3 Apr 51. Twice attempted suicide. Was in touch with ADAM, BORNHEIMANN and ZIEGLER.
18. GAST Dr Peter (FRANKFURT/Main) 16
 RAUMAN's denazification lawyer and a former Ministerialrat in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda.
19. GREVEN Alfred (BESSELMER-GERMANN)
 Was appointed head of Continental Film, PARIS in 1940. A friend of ADAM and political supporter of ADAM. Reportedly chosen by the Federation of German Trade Unions to be director of a film company which they were to form. His proposed appointment met with SPD opposition.
20. GRIENAUER Gottfried (ROSE/BECKMAN) 13, 24, 1), 89, 99
 Former SA Gebietsführer in charge of department for ideological training in the Reichsjugendführung. An Austrian by birth. Since the war has been associated with a Nazi organization which was broken up by the Austrian authorities, was leader of the underground South German group "Der Bund" which published the subversive and scurrilous broadsheet "Der Schalkenwerfer" and was closely associated with the Bruderschaft. Leader of the radical wing of the Deutsche Union. Has been endeavouring to interest ADAM in various right-wing political ventures.
21. GRIM Professor Hans (LIEBESBERG/Leuer) 24(r), 86, Appx 'B'
 Author of "Volk und Raum" and of articles in "Der Tag" (a Nazi paper published in GERMANY), and in "Nation Europa". Has connections with the British Union Movement and Dr. Gerd ADAM. Lectured to Bruderschaft and also to WERBERG's "Kraftschaff für Jugendliche und Frauen". A close contact of ADAM.
22. GROE Josef (GUMBERSBACH) 5(e)
 Former Gauleiter of SA/SAF. Reich Commissioner for the occupied territories of BELGIUM and Northern FRANCE in 1944. Released from prison in September 1950 after serving a four and a half years sentence, was reported two months later as the leader of a small crypto-Nazi group in GERMANY, the "Germanische Glaubensgemeinschaft". Was in touch with ADAM.

/23. von ADAM

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X

WILHELM VON

(ESSEN)

Para

Police President EIPZIG, ex-SS Brigade-
leader, Generalmajor der Polizei. Member of
the "Bund". A friend of NAUJANN, who he
visited in PARIS in October 1952.

75

WILHELM VON

(FRANKFURT)

SS Obersturmbannfuhrer and adjutant to
the "Bund". Member of the BOCH Circle.

53

WILHELM VON

(BOCHUM)

Former SS Obersturmbannfuhrer and NSDAP Kreisleiter.
Former leader of the Bruderschaft group in BOCHUM.
Tried to persuade NAUJANN to join the Bruderschaft
in 1950. Member of BORNEHANN's "Gesellschaft
fuer Geschichte und Kultur".

WILHELM VON

(WIESBADEN)

According to NAUJANN, is a former prominent Nazi
living under a false name. Now owner of the firm
"Casa Grande" in WIESBADEN. A friend of NAUJANN.

(BREITSTADT)

WILHELM VON

(MUNICH)

Former State Secretary in Reich Ministry of Economics
and Reichstag member, SS-Oberfuhrer and participant
in 1923 "Putsch" in MUNICH. Had conversations in
Nov/Dec 52 with NAUJANN, ZILBERMAN and NAUJANN
concerning the DFE. Has good connections to the DFE
State-Secretaries in the Bavarian Land Government,
Dr. Theodor GEBELMEIER and GUNDEL.

24(s)59(b), 114-115

WILHELM VON

(BOCHUM)

A former SS Hauptsturmfuhrer and supporter of FRANZ
CRICKS in the Deutsche Bruderschaft. Invited
SIEPEN to attend an International Fascist conference
at LINDO in May 1951. Contributed to the neo-fascist
magazine "Nation Europa". Attended the first
"Stammtisch" of the Circle in DUESSELDORF in Feb 52.

WILHELM VON

(MUNICH)

One time headmaster of the Nazi Ordensburg
VOGELSANG and SAUTINGEN. Chief of Central Office,
Reich Ministry of Armaments and War Production.
Head of the proficiency drives of the DAF. A
contact of NAUJANN and ZILBERMAN, who was to have
been present at NAUJANN's meeting with KRAFT on
12 Dec 52. Has good connections with the DFE in
Bavaria.

59(b), 115

WILHELM VON

Former State Secretary for special duties and
economic expert in the German Foreign Office,
SS Obergruppenfuhrer and Reichstag member. An
intimate friend of NAUJANN.

WILHELM VON

(TRILLFAGE/WUERSTENBERG)

Participated in APP-Putsch and was an associate of
LUDENDORF after 1918. Became Abwehr officer in the

89

/Reichswehrministerium.

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Fara

Reichswehrministerium. Broke with Nazis and emigrated to Switzerland. Was arrested by Germans at frontier post in 1944, released, sent back to Switzerland and arrested by Swiss as German agent. Suspected of being in touch with the SD. After war was supporter of von STADT's Nationale Union and was later connected with Deutsche Union and Bundesschaft leaders. Together with GIESSEN has endeavored to interest others in many extreme right-wing ventures.

32. BRIST Dr. Bruno

Former member of German Foreign Office. Head of subdivision in Reich Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories. Took part in the Russo-German negotiations in 1939 and 1941 (ST OK 101). SS Obersturmfuehrer. Since the end of the war has been in touch with right wing and ex-SS circles. Is a close associate of the "Circle", who have organized lecture tours for him and the sale of his book "Auch du warst dabei", whitewashing Nazi Germany.

84(c), 86-88, Appx 'B'

33. BRUNNEN Kurt

(DUEN DUEDE)

Former Gaupropagandaleiter and acting Gaupredator in South Westphalia. An associate of ADAMER of long-standing. Believed to be identical with the author "Alte LEITUNG".

34. KRAUSE Heinz Erich
@ HER RAY

(BERG EISEN)

Published the notorious periodical "Deutschland Brief" which was violently anti-democratic, anti-American and anti-Jewish. Attended the meeting of ex-officers arranged by Ernst von RINGEL at STUTTGART on 3 Dec 52 at which the Constitutional agreements and the rearmament of Germany were approved. A leading figure of the neo-Nazi "Bewegung Reich" and in postal contact with NICKEL and ROSE. Associate of Hermann BUCH.

59(a)

35. KRETZSCHMANN Hermann

(LOEGER)

Former and Generalstabsfuehrer and NSDAP Gauredner. Friend of ZIEGLER. Attended the private meeting of the Circle in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52).

36. KROGER Dr. Gerhard

(HEBURG)

Former Gauschalungsleiter Westfalen-Sued and member of PARIS Embassy under Otto KETZ. Joined SA in 1926 and holder of NSDAP Gold Medal. A former member of the Federal Committee of the banned SRP and close associate of SCHULZ.

37. KREMER Dr. Hans Heinrich

Former head of the Reich Chancery and SS Obergruppenfuehrer; was Hitler's most important subordinate in State matters. An old friend of ADAMER's with whom he was in contact in 1952 concerning publication of his memoirs.

/38. LANG

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38. LING Thorger (DUESSELDORF) Para
A correspondent of German PRAGER-NEWS and a contact of HUBER.
39. LEHMAN Rudolf (REIDELBERG)
Ex-SS Obersturmbannfuhrer and Chief of Staff of 2 SS Pz Corps. Member of the NSD Circle. 53
40. LINDER Friedrich Wilhelm Karl (KOBLENZ)
Former deputy Gauleiter, REIDELBERG, SPD Reichstag member and Emergency Director of Frankfurt/Main. Attended private meeting of NSD Circle in DUESSELDORF in Nov 52. 53
41. LOHME Josef (REIDELBERG/BERG)
Former official with the German Radio. Proposed by HUBER for a post with the NSD "Die Deutsche Zukunft" in Jan 52. 101
42. LYER Hubert (STUTTGART)
Possibly identical with an ex-SS Obersturmbannfuhrer of this name. Member of the NSD Circle. 53
43. MAIER Alexander von der (REIDELBERG)
A former brother-in-law supporter NSDAP member and naval officer. Supporter of the "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur" and attendee of NSD Circle meetings.
44. MEYER Hans Jakob (MANNHEIM)
Ex-SS Obersturmbannfuhrer; Adjutant to HUBER 1936-1938. Division Officer between HUBER and HUBER in Germany 1942-44. Head of SS and Sipo in 1940. Now employed by PHILIPS Valve Works. Booked the room in the GROENOVEN Hotel for HUBER's meeting, with HUBER on 3 May 53. 109
45. MEYER Hansjorg (FRANKFURT)
Ex-SS Untersturmbannfuhrer. A close friend of HUBER. Also in close touch with German NSD and with the staff of the "Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung". Attended the meetings of the NSD Circle in DUESSELDORF in June and November 52. 59(a)
46. RAUH Max (MUNICH)
Believed to be an ex-SS Sturmbannfuhrer. Member of the NSD Circle. 53
47. REINHOLD Kurt (DUESSELDORF)
Former Chief of Staff to HUBER, press (Publishing) Department, member of Academy for German Law. Leading personality in Reich press Chamber. Served in the German SS. A political contact of HUBER since 1936 and also in touch with the FDP DUESSELDORF. 24(n)

/43. SANDAU-HOFEDITZ..

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APPENDIX 'F'

ASSOCIATES IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES

References to paras in the main report are quoted in the right-hand column

FDP

(a) Land North-rhine/Westphalia

Paras

1. AGLENBACH, Dr. Ernst

(ESSEN)

24, 79-80, 97-
100, 106, 119-
120

FDP member of NW Landtag and one-time chairman of FDP Foreign Affairs Committee. Organiser of the Preparatory Committee for a General Amnesty (of condemned war criminals); was on staff of German Embassy in Paris 1936-39 and personal secretary to Otto ABERZ, German Ambassador in Paris 1940-43. Wrote introduction to book by ABERZ "Das offene Problem". A close associate of NAUMANN since 1950. Facilitated his connections to both foreign sympathisers and Federal Government officials. Became his first defence lawyer until after his (AGLENBACH's) expulsion from his FDP offices for complicity with NAUMANN (Apr-May 53).

2. BOEGGER, Willi

(BOCHUM)

A FDP supporter, and accomplice of BOCKENHEIM. He believe he is identical with a former departmental chief in the Reich Ministry of Labour and Press/Propaganda chief of same department; SS-Gruppenfuehrer and Reichstag member.

3. BRADT, Dr. Walter

(DUESSELDORF)

101, 106

Former adjutant in Sudetenland to Konrad HUNNIG. Co-operated after war with Gerd SPINDEL in the "Vatergenossenschaft", later becoming refugee adviser in the North-rhine/Westphalia FDP. Recently dismissed from this position on account of his association with NAUMANN.

4. DIERCKE, Wolfgang

(OPLADEN)

100, 104-106

Former SS Standartenfuehrer, NWG Gaupropagandaleiter DALLIG-est-preussen and (Jan-Nov 42) head of Broadcasting Division in Reich Propaganda Ministry. Subsequently worked under NAUMANN in Minister's office. Today an intimate associate of NAUMANN. Until recently was personal assistant and confidential adviser to MEDELHARVE, joint Federal vice-chairman of the FDP.

5. DOERING, Wolfgang

(DUESSELDORF)

98, 101-102

Former Wehrmacht officer. At present, FDP business manager for North-rhine/Westphalia. As associated with the Bruderschaft, was closely connected with FDP exploitation of ex-servicemen's associations and was involved in the original negotiations to form the German Soldiers' Union (GWS). Admits only one contact with NAUMANN.

6. DREITZ, Dr. Karl

(DUESSELDORF)

101, 106

A former junior official in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda. A member of the staff of "Die Deutsche Zukunft" and of the FDP, who was dismissed his position and expelled from the party for his complicity in the NAUMANN case.

7. FRIEDSCHE, Hans

(COLOGNE)

105, Appx 'B'

Former head of Broadcasting Division in the Propaganda Ministry. A member of the North-rhine/Westphalia FDP, who, according to the press and to MEDELHARVE's later admission, assisted in the drafting of the "Deutsches Programm".

/b ...

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... of the SS and ... of the Reichswehrstand in ... political and economic editor in the ... an associate of N. J. ... (Land Security Organi- ...)

(DUSSELDORF)

... and ... of the right-wing nationalist ... in Sep 52 between ... and the GNG ... a plan which ... because of opposition ...

(DUSSELDORF)

... by ... in ...

(DUSSELDORF)

... and until Jan 53 editor of "Nachbar ... achieved some notoriety ... on the Federal Government ...

(DUSSELDORF)

... Close friend of ... and well- ... talks in ...

(DUSSELDORF)

Siegfried

... on staff of ... and head of youth ... at present ... at ... meeting ... but evidence shows ...

(DUSSELDORF)

Land to or Saxony

Friedrich Georg

(LUTHERBURG)

... and Luftwaffe Colonel; joined ... in ... as well as at ...

(LUTHERBURG)

Herbert

... in Niedersachsen. ... concerned in ...

(FALLINGBOSTEL/Lower Saxony)

Fallingbostel

... contact of a number of ... press-service ...

(HILDESBURG and HILDESBURG)

Former SS Hauptsturmführer, Upper Silesia and officer in Gross-
Land Division. FDP Parteischaftsführer in Lower Saxony;
member of Landtag. Held consultations with KROGER, SCHILL and
KROGER in 1951-52.

5. SCHILLER-HEINICH Heinrich (HILDESBURG/Lower Saxony)

107,109

Former NSFK Obergruppenführer and member of the Reichstag.
Participant after first world war in Kapp Putsch and member of a
terrorist group in Silesia. Appointed member of People's Court in
1939. Interned 3 Jul 49-10 Dec 47. First came to our attention in
1949 in connection with clandestine nationalist groups. Was elected
to the Niedersächsischen Committee in 1950. Was in close touch with
SCHILL. North German representative of the "Deutsche Soldaten-
Zeitung". Attended meetings with KROGER Circle representatives on
behalf of FDP HILDESBURG in Spring 1952.

6. SCHILLER Robert (HILDESBURG)

107

Former S. Gruppenführer, Leiter der S. und Gauamtleiter of the
Hilfslagerorganisation. At present employed by the "Kancelli-
schaft zur Förderung der Niedersächsischen Wirtschaft", a body
handling funds for the middle-class parties. Member of the FDP.
Took part in the talks between the HILDESBURG FDP and SCHILL and KROGER
in Apr-May 52.

7. SCHILLER Guenther (HILDESBURG)

108

Former SS Hauptsturmführer, from 1942 personal adjutant to
KROGER. Was in Führerbunker to the end and personally des-
troyed books of KROGER and finally by burning. Was at one time
a paid functionary of FDP in HILDESBURG and remained in touch with this
party. Absconded from Berlin in 1949 in KROGER's company.
KROGER's intermediary to HILDESBURG.

8. SCHILLER Artur (HILDESBURG)

96,110-111

FDP Bundestag member and chairman of FDP in Lower Saxony. Held
private consultations with KROGER in Apr-May 52 and remained on
11 Jun 52 with a view to the formation of a new Nationalist Opposi-
tion Movement.

(c) Other Leaders

1. GRIMM Prof. Dr. Friedrich (HILDESBURG/BRUNSWIG)

100

Seventy-seven year old ultra-nationalist lawyer and publicist.
Member of Preparatory Committee for a General Amnesty (of war
criminals) and FDP supporter. Close associate of KROGER.
KROGER's present defence counsel.

2. BRUNNINGER Frau Dr. Friedl (BRUNSWIG)

112

Close contact of KROGER, probably member of the FDP, who
reports the successful reorganization of this party in BRUNNINGER by HJ,
SS and other former NSKK leaders.

3. KROGER von der FLIESEN Prof. Dr. (HILDESBURG)

FDP Bundestag member. Impounded documents show that he met KROGER
privately in COLOGNE in early Jan 53. Was KROGER's former professor
and has remained a close acquaintance.

III. BRE

1. KROGER Alfred (KIEL)

114

Former NSFK Kreisleiter. Chairman of BRG Kreis KIELSTEDT and
employed by Land Administration Schleswig-Holstein. Was inter-
mediary in the KROGER/KROGER meeting of Nov/Dec 52.

- 5 -
"Der Westfälische Beobachter". One-time Gauleiter in Posen
responsible to Hitler and Kreisleiter. -- close
associate of Hitler and editor of the paper "Das Volk".

Walter von

(COETINUM and BONN)

91

Second Chairman of the Deutsche Reichsleiter and member of the
Ringverein. One of the closest associates, outside the inner circle,
of the Hitler group.

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APPENDIX 'C'

ASSOCIATES IN THE MILITARY FIELD

References to paras in the main report are quoted in the right-hand column

- | | | Paras |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | <u>BOLLBRINKER Ernst</u> (BIELEFELD) | 47, 51 |
| | Former Generalmajor. Until its amalgamation in the VDB was Chairman of the Schutz-Bund ehemaliger deutscher Soldaten (BdS) in North-Rhine/Westphalia. As a founder shareholder in the "Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung". A close associate of BORNHEIM and BORNHEIM. Attended the private meeting of the Circle in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52) | |
| 2. | <u>GLASSEN Prof. Dr. Wilhelm</u> (formerly DUESSELDORF, now MUNICH) | 99 |
| | Before the war held university appointments in Greece, Japan and at HEIDELBERG. During war was in OK Military Propaganda Section and on Reich Security Headquarters (RSHA) Staff in Japan. Joined NSDAP in 1924. SS Obersturmfuehrer (SD). Since the war he has been associated with the Bruderschaft, Deutsche Gemeinschaft, Deutsche Union and Deutsche Aktion. At present GLASSEN is business manager of the Society for Military Research (GfM) in MUNICH. Is a friend of BORNHEIM, STEIN and SCHULZ. | |
| 3. | <u>DAKERU Helmut</u> (MUNICH) | 32 |
| | Ex-Oberst and Major Kreisleiter in East Prussia. Now business-manager of the "Schild Verlag" which publishes the "Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung". He visited by BORNHEIM in Jan 53. Associate of BORNHEIM. | |
| 4. | <u>GUDERIAN Heinz</u> (SCHWANGAU/Bavaria) | 38, 40, 42-49, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000 |
| | Former Generaloberst, Chief of the German General Staff and Commander in Chief on the Russian Front (1941-45). GUDERIAN is perhaps the most influential German ex-General who holds no official position in the Federal Republic. His advice and support have been sought by the various extreme right-wing groups. He has always insisted that his name should not be mentioned in any political connection, but has privately expressed the opinion that it was important that the various right-wing groups such as the B.E., the Deutsche Gemeinschaft, the GfM, the Bruderschaft and the Deutscher Block should amalgamate to form an effective national opposition movement. As elected to the provisional presidium of the VDB on 9 Sep 51 and it was due to his influence that the VDB was founded as a united ex-servicemen's association (i.e. a potential political pressure-group) and not as a loose roof-organisation as originally planned. He insists that the Federal Government should exact the fullest concessions in return for a contribution to Western defence, and has privately advocated a maintenance of links with Soviet Russia. Exchanged visits with BORNHEIM, who became his political adviser and who used him as a means of influencing the development of the VDB. Severe illness however restricted GUDERIAN's further activities. | |
| 5. | <u>GUENDEL Ludwig</u> (MUNICH) | |
| | Former Oberst and Commander of a Divisional Group from Wehrkreis V. Participated in the MUNICH Putsch in 1933. Holder of the "Blutorden" of the NSDAP. As chairman of the Bavarian Landesverband of the Schutz-Bund ehemaliger deutscher Soldaten (BdS), he became notorious as a radical and embittered nationalist and was dismissed from the provisional presidium of the VDB on account of his irresponsible public utterances. He was a functionary of PRIESTER's Europaische Soziale Bewegung. Attempted in 1951 to revive the BDS as an extreme nationalist ex-servicemen's association, and sought the assistance of BORNHEIM and SCHULZ in this venture. Associate of BORNHEIM. | |

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- ... Ministry and National ...
... Adjutant to General ...
... at the time of the 20 July plot. It was he who ...
... to contact GODELLER. Is not employed on the ...
... "Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung" and is strongly opposed to UHLIG's ...
... support of Dr. GODELLER's present foreign policy. He ...
... for his support in opposing UHLIG. Addressed the ...
... of the Circle in DUESSELDORF on 1-2 Nov 52.
7. HARPE Josef (MUNICH) 42, 51
Ex-Generaloberst and former Commander of Army Group 'A'. A friend of SLIPEN and fellow member of the Deutsche Union in North-Rhine/Westphalia. A regular visitor of N. ULLMANN's "Stammtisch".
8. H. UENSCHILD Bruno Ritter von (MUNICH) 46-49
Ex-Generalleutnant and former Chief Transport Officer at the German Army High Command (OKM). He opposed the remilitarisation of the Federal Republic and believed that Communism can be combated by other than military methods. Von H. UENSCHILD acted as ULLMANN's intermediary with GODELLER, and was asked by ULLMANN to address the Circle in DUESSELDORF on 30 Jan 53 on remilitarisation questions. Refused on grounds of ill-health. Died Mar 53.
9. H. USSER Paul (LUDWIGSBURG) 40, 42, 44, 108, -ppx 'B'
Former SS Oberstgruppenfuhrer and Commander of the German Seventh Army. Has been connected with various extreme right-wing movements, and as senior surviving officer of the Waffen SS is constantly courted by right-wing radicals. His major interest is in the rehabilitation of the former Waffen SS, on whom he has written the book "Waffen SS in Einsatz". On 9 Sep 51 he was elected to the provisional Presidency of the VDB. H. USSER appears to be a strong supporter of GODELLER's political views, and requested and received political advice from ULLMANN and has visited the latter at DUESSELDORF.
10. MARTIN Hans (NURTINGEN/Herford) 24(n)
Ex-Oberst and LO between the OKM and the Propaganda Ministry. ULLMANN's former Commanding Officer. Now an insurance agent. Visited the LUFTs on ULLMANN's invitation.
11. R. G. E. Hermann Bernhard (WELTER/WEPPENEL) 42, 44, 47, 51-52, 6, -ppx 'B'
Commanded 2nd Parachute Division in France in 1944 and was Commander of Fortresse BRESEL. Convicted in France for war crimes and released in Jun 51. Attracted a hostile press reaction as a result of an obnoxious speech which he made at the ex-Waffen SS rally at VERDEN on 26 Oct 52. Has been in touch with ULLMANN since Spring 1952, and appears to be susceptible to his political influence.
12. REDER Hans-Ulrich (BUENOS AIRES) 24(n), 31, 38-39, 51-52, 72, 82, 109, -ppx 'B'
Former Luftwaffe ace-pilot. Maintains contact with many ex-Nazi circles in Germany and publishes violently nationalist articles. He pays occasional visits to Germany from the Argentine and visits both SCHULZ and ULLMANN. The latter endeavours to control his political activities. Associate also of HOLLEY.
13. S. G. E. R. Max (FREIBURG/BREISG.) 51, 60(1)
Former Generalmajor and now Land Chairman of the VDB in South Baden. One of the most radical members of the VDB, who agreed with FRIESSNER that the VDB should not confine itself to social and welfare questions, but should exert an influence on political issues. A collaborator of FRIESSNER and his political circle. He addressed the DUESSELDORF meeting of the ULLMANN Circle on the subject of ex-servicemen's associations and attended a private meeting in ULLMANN's house in Nov 52.

/14 ...

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... HERR obtained employment for him with the ROLAND
... Regular visitor to KILIAN's "Staatliche".

51

15. SAUSAR Karl-Georg (MEL)
... who took part in Anglo-German Naval Agreement negoti-
... in 1935. ... as a speaker of the Deutscher Block in Berlin,
... in Jan 52. ... proposed as head Chairman of the
... Soldiers' Union" (VDS/BV). He delivered an address to
... "Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Kultur" in 1952.

86

16. SPENGLER Dr. Wilhelm (MUNICH)
... SD Standartenführer and official of the Reich Main Security
... Office (RSHA). Is now employed on the "Deutsche Solaten-
... and supports EUGEN in his opposition to ULLICH's tactical support of
... Dr. ADAMER's foreign policy. Is a member of the Præsidium of
... Princessin LEBENBURG's "Stille Hilfe für Kriegsgefangene und Inter-
... nierta". Associates of ADAMER and Hermann EUGEN.

50, 59(a)

17. SURECHER Werner (MUNICH)
... Advertising manager of the "Deutsche Solaten-
... Zeitung". Visited
... ADAMER, SCHULZ and KILIAN in his efforts to obtain
... advertising contracts for the "Deu".

18. ULLICH (MUNICH)
... former official of the Reich Propaganda Ministry and a war-time
... editor of N. O. ... who obtained for him a post on the "Deutsche
... Solaten-
... Zeitung", of which he is now Chief Editor. He was res-
... ponsible for its most provocative articles during its early period
... and consul ... concerning policy. He now claims to be
... exercising restraint in his approach to political questions because
... he believes that his friends will achieve their political aims
... without being provocative.

43, 44, 50

19. WILF Adolf (BREMEN)
... Former General ... second as SA ... Deutscher Block candidate in
... COBURG in the ... election in 1930 and polled 17% of
... the votes. ... well-known for his violent anti-Jewish public utter-
... ances. ... House ... informed on his political activity and is now
... a prominent member of the Reichsblock.

in the main report are quoted in the right-hand margin of the report.

Director du Cabinet during the German occupation of France. Secretary to Paul ROCHAS, the Secretary-General of the National-Socialist Party. ROCHAS has met him in PARIS and is an associate also of MOSLEY.

Swiss-Nazi who maintains contact with fascists in most European countries. In contact of BORGHESE.

Formerly a French University Professor. as a prominent collaborator since the war has maintained contact with neo-fascist circles in most European countries. Is in contact with MACLENNAN, whom he met in 1952 in BRUSSELS. Author of the pro-Nazi books "Nürnberg" and "Das seltsame Land" and "Der Weg nach Vorne".

Contesse de (France)
The husband of Pierre Laval. Was a guest of Len and Herbert LUCHT in 1950.

Member of the former Flemish SS and correspondent of Sir Oswald
ROBERT. Met MACLENNAN in Belgium and gave his address to Dr. Peter RUSSEL.

DURAND Norvan (Stockholm)
French or Belgian sympathiser of MACLENNAN and acquaintance of MACLENNAN and Guy LEMONNIER.

ESVIN Dr. Roetzar (Stockholm)
A Swede who lectured to SCHEER's "Herrnklub" on the subject of the Central European situation as seen from Sweden in Dec 52.

Van den Paul (Brussels)
A Belgian friend of Frau LUCHT and a caricaturist who has supplied political cartoons to the neo-fascist magazine "Nation Europe".

Laval Mrs (France)
The widow of Pierre Laval, collaborationist prime minister of the Vichy Government. Was a guest of Len and Herbert LUCHT in autumn 1950. The latter helped Laval to escape arrest.

Lemonnier Guy (Paris)
French professor who was Chief of the collaborationist Rassemblement National Populaire during the war. MACLENNAN's closest political contact in PARIS. Associate also of MOSLEY.

ROBERT Sir Oswald (Paris and Eire)
Leader of the British Union movement. Known to MACLENNAN before the war, and has met him on several occasions since the war in BRUSSELS.

/LUXEMBOURG

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SPENDIA 'I'

CONTACTS IN GERMAN GOVERNMENTAL OFFICES

References to names in the main report are quoted in the right-hand margin.

1. Barthold, Ernst

(BOEN)

in Oberregierungsrat in the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Belonged to the same students' Corps as Herbert LUCH and visited the LUCHs and KUMMER at their home in DUESSELDORF. Recently advised that LUCH, on the basis of "special information", no longer to employ AG-EMBAC as lawyer in the KUMMER case.

2. HEINRICH Dr.

60(a)

Former Lieutenant and now a government official and member of the CDU. He introduced to the "Kontakts" by KUMMER and addressed the private meeting of the Circle in DUESSELDORF (1-2 Nov 52) on the legal and military aspects of EDC. A pre-war friend of SCHULZ.

3. HUECKELHEIM Heinz

(COLOGNE)

Ex-Obersturleutnant. Now employed in the BKA Office and accompanied KUMMER on an official visit to the USA. His book included his name on a list of his acquaintances, and his name and address were also found in KUMMER's address-book.

4. SCHULZ Dr.

(BOEN)

Government official in the Federal Ministry of Economics, where he deals with questions of German trade with Egypt. He assisted KUMMER at the time of his visit to Egypt and agreed to receive a copy of KUMMER's book "Kuch Du wars, Kuch" from him.

5. SCHULZ Dr.

(DUESSELDORF)

Minister of Economics and Transport in Land North-Rhine/Westphalia. KUMMER knew him before the war and reported to him on his visit to Egypt.

[NOTE: The name and address of Oberregierungsrat BEUTLER of the Federal Chancellor's Office is also noted in KUMMER's address-book.]

REST AREA TIME

(with NSDUHC/ADL-1011)

2. Significant member of various nationalist movements such as the
 Deutsche Union and Deutsche Gemeinschaft in 1949 and 1950. Elected
 member of the RSK in Schleswig-Holstein in 1952. Introduced
 into contact of HUN-AN, BERG

KR. D. Talwar

(100)

Deputy Minister-President of Schleswig-Holstein and Federal chair
man of the 11-Country Block/Refugee Party (BfP). Former agric-
ultural expert in Romania (Austria). Former agric-
ultural expert abroad in the Federal Republic of Germany.
Born 28 September 1922 in the Federal Republic of Germany.
Member of the Bundestag in Dec 52. (consultations with

RECEIVED Major: A. B.

(Keweenaw)

regular attendant at meetings of the KKKLAK Circle.
a candidate (probably, BMS) in the North-Helm/Highland local election of 9 Nov 52.

SECRET

(ALBANY)

1. Former SS doctor, Julius Gernon and Dr. Jungermann, invited
Schulz and R. F. H. to the meetings. Probably identical with
SS Obersturmbannführer Dr. Josef SEIDLER, born 6 Nov 98, in Lüneburg, ex-
-tended.

7. VENTILATION

Almost certainly, as was VANKER, former NSDAP Obergruppenführer of
but Mao, according to a letter to H. H. H. H. from Wilhelm BACH, was a
member of "Adolf Hitler's" entourage which he was influencing "in a
positive manner".

TERRELL - see appendix C, page 187

Deutsche Partei

DOROTHY DORIS DE SILVA

(LIESSEN)

Former New York Representative and now member of OP Federal Committee, in Nov 52 had talks with ZIEGLER, NY, BOERNE, NY and

ADU

POSTING *March*

TUTTINGEN

Foreign Office entrusted with the co-ordination of the German-
NUTMAN in the Reich Propaganda Ministry. Tried to recruit NUTMAN
of the OOI in 1950.

WIS. Dr. Guenther

(OUTLINE)

number of COU. Improved Intelligence and MURKIN as a speaker at a meeting of the above-mentioned club. Invited by ST-JIN to speak at private meetings of the MURKIN Circle.

DHE

Fun! Johnson's

• (NO 31781924)°

former official of the Czech Propaganda Ministry and sub-editor

- Correspondent of Alfred RAUKE-GROPSCH and a member of the circle.
41. RAUKE, Rudolf (BERGHEIM)
 Ex-SS Obersturmbannführer and Chief of Staff of 2 SS Pz Corps. Member of the SUCH Circle. 53
42. RINDER Friedrich Wilhelm Karl (ILN-FURT)
 Former deputy Gauleiter HEUSEN-GASSER, NSDAP Reichstag member and Bürgermeister of Frankfurt/Main. attended private meeting of MOHRING Circle in DUESSELDORF in Nov 52. 53
43. RIEGER, Josef (BIELEFELD/WOERNTERBERG)
 Former official with the German Radio. Proposed by NACHMANN for a post with the FDP "Die Deutsche Zukunft" in Jan 52. 101
44. RIEGER, Hubert (STUTTGART)
 Possibly identical with an ex-SS Obersturmbannführer of this name. Member of the SUCH Circle. 53
45. RIEGER, Alexander von der (RE-SCHENID)
 a former brotherhood supporter NSDAP member and naval officer. Supporter of the "Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Kultur" and attendee of Hamburg Circle meetings.
46. RIEGER, Hans Hendrik (HANNOVER)
 Ex-SS Obersturmbannführer; adjutant to HEYDRICH 1936-1939. Liaison officer between HEYDRICH and GULISLING in Norway 1942-44. Head of SD and Sipo in OSLO. Now employed by PHILIPS Valve Werke. Booked the room in the HANNOVER Hotel for SCHEEL's meeting with NUTZGER on 3 May 53. 109
47. RIEGER, Hansjoerg (ERLANGEN)
 Ex-SS Untersturmbannführer. A close friend of ECKHARDT. Also in close touch with Hermann SUCH and with the staff of the "Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung". attended the meetings of the MOHRING Circle in DUESSELDORF in June and November 52. 59(a)
48. RAUH, Max (MUNICH)
 believed to be an ex-SS Sturmbannführer. Member of the SUCH Circle. 53
49. REINHARDT, Rolf (BIELEFELD)
 Former Chief of Staff to NSDA Press (Publishing) Department, member of Academy for German Law. Leading personality in Reich Press Chamber. Served in the Waffen SS. political contact of RAUMANN since 1950 and also in touch with the FDP DUESSELDORF. 24(n)

/48. SANDAU-HOFEDITZ..

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

WILHELMINE, Frau

(BOHN)

A photographer who appears to be employed in the
timeshaus. A friend of HAUEN who recommended her
to DITZSCH.

WOLFF, Aldegar

(SCOTTISH)

Ex-SH Hauptsturmführer. Proprietor of the "DEUT-
sche Zeitung" which publishes "Nationalist and neo-Nazi"
literature. As an active member of the "Bruderschaft"
and sponsored the visit in 1950 of the French fascist
sympathizer Professor Maurice ROBERTS. Was in
collaboration with HAUEN and accompanied him on a
visit to RUSSIA in Dec 52.

64(c)

WOLFF, E. Reinhold

(HANNOVER)

Former Hitler Youth leader and cultural attaché at
German Embassy, PARIS. An associate of ZIEGLER, HAUEN,
BOERHAUT and SCHULZ, and lecturer to the "Gesellschaft
für Geschichte und Kultur".

36

WOLFF, H. van DER, Hans

(BRUSSELS)

One of the most active Nazi journalists prior to
1933. Reported on Hitler's youth, 1935.
Chief editor of "Der Angriff". Before the war
correspondent in Turkey, later editor of "Das Schwarze
Korps". Is a personal friend of HAUEN.

24(p)

WOLFF, H. van DER, Hans, Christoph von

(BRUSSELS)

Former Chairman of the Deutsche Union and one-time member
of the "Reichshauptamt". Invited HAUEN in 1949 to
become secretary of the DU in North Rhine/Westphalia
and tried to incite HAUEN, in the DU.
WOLFF contributed articles to the "Europa Briefe"
and "Das Reich". One of the DU. A political
discussion with HAUEN in COLOGNE in Apr 51 is
noted in HAUEN's diary.

WOLFF, H. van DER, Ernst

(BRUSSELS)

Ex-SH Sturmbannführer. Former leader of the DORTMUND
group of the "Deutsche Bruderschaft". A contact of
HAUEN, BOERHAUT and ZIEGLER.

65

WOLFF, Dr. Gerhard

(MUNICH)

Former Ministerialrat in Reich Propaganda Ministry and
Liaison officer between Propaganda and Foreign
Ministries. An associate with the "Bruderschaft". A
friend of HAUEN and ZIEGLER of the "Deutsche Soldaten-
Zeitung".

WOLFF, (Frau)

(Munich, Homburger Landstr 287)

Line of BOERHAUT to ex-affair as circles in FRANKFURT

53

WOLFF, Albert Theodor

(BOHN)

NSDAP member 1928 and former Gaupropaganda-leiter
for LUXEMBURG-ROSELAND. Active in extreme right-wing
political circles and deputy manager of the "Association
of Victims of Domination". Recommended by HAUEN
for post on Editorial Staff of "Die Deutsche Zukunft"
(DFP).

/H. HAUEN.